

Report to our subscribers

"Profitless prosperity" is a state of intense business activity characterized by an unequal race between rising costs and more slowly rising returns. We regret to report that for the past several years your magazine has been experiencing this economic *malaise*. Although our gross income from circulation has increased considerably, our production costs have increased even more. The result is that we are worse off today than we were in less prosperous times. A few figures tell the whole disturbing story. Since 1939, the cost of paper has risen 75 per cent and the cost of composition 62 per cent. In September of this year, our wage bill was somewhat more than 100 per cent over 1939. All together since 1939 the cost of producing AMERICA has gone up about 80 per cent. To meet advancing costs, we increased the annual subscription from \$4 in 1939 to our present \$6. Thus, while our costs went up approximately 80 per cent, our price advanced only 50 per cent. (During the same period, the *Saturday Evening Post* jumped its price for single copies 300 per cent; *Life* and *Newsweek* went from ten cents a copy to twenty cents—a 100-per-cent increase; and *Collier's* also advanced 100 per cent, from five to ten cents.) Were it not for the happy fact that we gained a large number of new subscribers, we should have suffered severe financial loss. As it is, we have been forced to dip into our modest reserves to meet a deficit incurred during 1947, and we shall have to do so again this year. Obviously, we cannot permit this state of profitless prosperity to continue much longer. The question is, what can be done about it?

A solution

The ordinary cure for profitless prosperity consists in cutting costs or raising prices, or in a combination of the two. We have already given serious attention to costs. Unfortunately, not much more can be done along this line without cheapening our product. We try to pay our lay associates well. Surely, the cost of living being what it is, we cannot at this time ask them to work for less. Indeed, during the past year, we have felt morally obliged to raise their wages, and have done so. On the other hand, we are determined, for several reasons, not to increase our prices. What, then, is the solution to this seemingly insoluble dilemma? We believe one feature of the magazine publishing business suggests a way out. The cost of composition, which is a significant part of our total costs, remains the same whether we print 1,000 or 100,000 copies. The more copies of AMERICA we print, the less we have to pay in composition cost for each copy. What we need, therefore, and need urgently, are many new subscribers. A gain in circulation will augment our revenues without our having to raise prices. We are turning to you, our subscribers, who over the years have proved to be our best salesmen. We most earnestly ask

each one of you to solicit one new subscriber within the next six weeks. While we naturally prefer annual subscriptions, we are offering in connection with this drive a special introductory subscription at a cost of \$2 for 20 weeks. Many of our readers tell us that a healthy, vital AMERICA is more necessary now than ever, for the welfare of Church and country. Over the years, AMERICA's influence has grown steadily. There are sound reasons to believe that it has never been so great as it is today. Do you want to help us carry on the fight for the grand cause we hold in common? Then please turn to the inside front cover for concrete suggestions.

Did Homer nod?

We thought at first that the newspaper version of Senator Vandenberg's recent radio address on bipartisan foreign policy was garbled, but comparison with the text released by the Republican National Committee proves that he wrote it that way. We refer to a sentence in the section devoted to "identifying the Republicans who have made the bipartisan foreign policy possible under a Democratic administration, with their contributions to the common cause." "I want to make it plain," said the Senator, "that I claim no monopoly of Republican credit as the amazingly impertinent Democratic platform does for the Democrats." Such ambiguity on the part of the most painstaking speech writer in public life today hints a certain ambiguity in the history of our foreign policy formulation. The Democrats, you may be sure, will agree that the Senator, except perhaps in one or two instances, personally deserves the monopoly of credit for the achievements which he claims were due to "Republican initiative"; such improvements in the United Nations charter as the inclusion of the idea of justice; the addition of Article 14, providing for peaceful change; the addition of Articles 51-54, permitting regional arrangements for collective defense; the "tremendously significant" Senate resolution "to use these arrangements to stop aggressors"; the association of the Greek-Turkish agreement with the United Nations; the final formulation and passage of the European Recovery program. We leave it to the Democratic campaign managers to inquire whether the Senator's personal triumphs can be called, as he calls them, "the Republican record of clear, vigorous, competent and constructive achievement in this vital cause," and whether that necessarily ensures the "Republican purpose to carry it forward." Our interest in the matter lies principally in a little-publicized achievement which the Senator chose to omit from the record. During the prolonged deadlock with the Russians at the San Francisco Conference regarding the extension of the Big Five veto power, it was Senator Vandenberg, we have reason to believe, who held the American delegation firm against the Russian drive to extend the veto even to the con-

sideration of disputes by the Security Council. Harry Hopkins, it may be recalled, was finally sent to Moscow, and Stalin yielded. If he had not, the Soviets could have legally prevented the Security Council's consideration of the charge by the U. S., France and Britain that the Berlin blockade is a threat to the peace.

Gentleman's Agreement and Christian charity

Christians who rightly understand their faith and put it into practice realize without being reminded that the duty of charity is all-embracing. The precept has no exceptions, as Christ the Redeemer of all mankind was at pains to point out. Sincere Christians are invariably grieved by manifestations of racism or narrow nationalism, whether among their co-religionists or among those outside the household of the Faith. In their own lives they guard against anti-semitism and the other forms of racial bigotry which poison the Christian conscience and render it something less than universally charitable. Thus it was with pain that we read the dispatch from Madrid in the *New York Times* for September 30 reportedly giving the reasons cited (by the Spanish Film Censorship Board) for banning *Gentleman's Agreement*. In it "a source close to the board" represented it as saying "that while it was a Christian duty to 'stimulate love among individuals, societies, nations and peoples,' this duty should not extend to Jews." The immediate concern of American Catholics was understandable. How inconsistent such views are with genuine Catholic teaching was promptly pointed out by no less a person than Cardinal Spellman, as well as by the Editor of *AMERICA*. There was some relief when a subsequent AP wire from Madrid quoted textually a statement of Gabriel Garcia Espina, Censorship Board president. In it the offending restriction upon Christian charity did not occur. Instead it was indicated that errors, apparently of a moral nature, were the ground for banning the film. Some American film critics had pointed out several moral shortcomings in the picture: favorable portrayal of divorce, confusion of religious beliefs, and harshness of theme. The Spanish censors, therefore, may have had good moral reasons for the action they took. But if there is any truth to the press reports—the full text has not yet been made available—someone lapsed far from Catholic teaching in explaining the ground on which such action was taken. General statements about the absence of race problems in Spain are not too convincing, though the Spanish Government did far too much for Jews dur-

ing the war to be easily chargeable with anti-semitism. If, on the other hand, the information made public on this incident proves to have been inaccurate or misleading, one wonders what occasioned so serious a mistake.

Church attitude clarified

At the time when Hitler hounded the Austrian Jews in 1938, Pius XI used the occasion of the presentation of a missal by a group of pilgrims to clarify the genuine Catholic attitude toward the Hebrew race. Opening the missal, the Pope read that part of the Canon which refers to Abraham as *our* patriarch. Christians have a kinship with the Jews that is both sacred and ineradicable. Then the Pope made the telling observation that "spiritually we are all semites."

Anti-Semitism is not compatible with the sublime idea and reality which are expressed in this text.

It is a repugnant movement, a movement in which Christians can have no part.

During the war years, Pius XII showed special concern for the Jewish refugees, sheltering them within the Vatican when other means failed. His charity elicited tributes from Jewish leaders in Italy and elsewhere. William Rosenwald, speaking on behalf of refugees, made one such statement in St. Louis, March 17, 1946 (*CATHOLIC MIND*, June, 1946, p. 323). In line with the Christian spirit of universal charity, the Sacred Congregation of Rites was recently queried about vernacular translations of the Good Friday prayer made by the Church for the Jewish people. Apparently such translations have, at times, imputed to them something more than doctrinal unbelief. Thus they proved offensive. The Sacred Congregation replied with its customary brevity and precision. It stated: "There is no objection, in translations into the vernacular, to using phrases with the sense: 'infidelity,' 'unfaithful in belief'. (*Acta Apostolicae Sedis*. Vol. IX, No. 8, p. 342). Thus was it indicated that doctrinal unbelief, and not moral perfidy, is the focus-point of this age-old prayer. Catholics, true to their faith's traditions, have long recognized the distinction. It is unfortunate that in our day racist doctrines confuse the thinking of even a few.

Troubles of a third party

Is Henry Wallace's Progressive Party cracking up? It has taken away the uniforms of thirteen candidates for election to the House of Representatives: four in Pennsylvania, four in New Jersey, two in California, two in Connecticut and one in Massachusetts. These withdrawals were made in order to throw Progressive support behind Democrats now described as "liberal." In California Representatives Helen Gahagan Douglas and Chet Holifield, who had both indignantly spurned Progressive support, are the beneficiaries. Since the Progressives polled only one-half of one per cent of the total vote cast in the California primaries, they are being very generous with petty gifts they can't use. The Wallaceites have also waved to the showers several senatorial contestants. James Shields of Minnesota, whose batting average in the primaries (.040) made him a

AMERICA—A Catholic Review of the Week—Edited and Published by the following Jesuit Fathers of the United States:

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heavy liability to the team, has yielded to Mayor Humphrey of Minneapolis. In Connecticut it seems that Chester Bowles will have to accept the Wallace support he said he did not want. But Paul Douglas of Illinois, who is a "liberal" in everyone else's book, will continue to be opposed because of "some vicious remarks about the Progressive Party." This leaves about a hundred Progressive candidates for the House and eleven for the Senate. Thirteen of them are Negroes, several running in the South. With the major parties engaged in a serious tussle for control of the Senate and with the Democrats holding out hopes of adding to their ranks in the House, the judicious retirement of third-party candidates endows the campaign with new significance. Mr. Wallace himself is too far off the reservation to return. But perhaps it's time to find out just how much popular support he has.

Politics and loyalty boards

In the cross-fire of charges and counter-charges about Reds in Washington it is a relief to learn the facts unearthed by the Federal loyalty board trials. A total of 2,110,521 Federal employees have been cleared with the stamp of "no disloyalty data." The FBI has been charged with the investigation of 6,344 cases since the program was put into operation towards the end of last year. By September 9 it had completed 86 per cent of these field investigations. When they felt the hot breath of the FBI on their necks, 619 resigned, a minority of whom were judged to be probably innocent. Allowing for mistaken identities, that left under five thousand cases turned over by the FBI to loyalty boards. Of these just over a thousand in actual employment were "tried" by departmental or agency boards. Fifty-nine were dismissed as disloyal, 212 resigned at this stage, and 821 were cleared. The remainder of the 4,758 were turned over to Federal regional boards examining the applicants for jobs. The program seems to be worth while and to be proceeding efficiently. Mr. Seth W. Richardson, chairman of the review board, is annoyed with Senator Homer Ferguson for charging the board with failure. Mr. Richardson says he was a Republican long before many Senators. Most of his 23 lawyers are Republicans. A Republican Congress set up the boards—and cut its appropriations from \$16 millions to \$11, lopping off the funds budgeted for the investigation of persons in "sensitive" jobs. Now Mr. Ferguson complains that the board has not investigated such persons. Another member of the board had it out with a member of the Ferguson Committee, but was told that the *political situation* required the Committee to attack the loyalty program. Does this mean it requires "red herrings"?

Taft-Hartley Act in court

In the backlog of 300 cases which awaited the Supreme Court at the beginning of the fall term on October 4 were no less than five major cases involving the Taft-Hartley Act. An AFL painters' local in Hartford, Conn., which was fined for buying ads urging the defeat of several candidates for Congress, is seeking a clear-cut decision on the T-H ban on political spending. The

United Steelworkers and the Retail Clerks, both CIO affiliates, are appealing decisions of lower courts holding non-communist affidavits constitutional. In a last-ditch effort to save the hiring hall, the National Maritime Union is asking the Court to reverse a ruling of the National Labor Relations Board that the hiring hall as administered on the Great Lakes violates Sections 8 (a) (3) and 8 (b) (2) of the Act prohibiting the closed shop. In a case of far-reaching importance, the Inland Steel Company is requesting the Court to reverse a decision by the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals in Chicago which found that retirement and pension plans are legitimate matter for collective bargaining. This case arose over a demand by the U. S. Steelworkers, upheld by NLRB, that Inland Steel bargain on the pension plan which it adopted unilaterally in 1936. The decision in this case will affect some 3 million workers now covered by welfare plans, and potentially many millions more. The Court, finally, will have to pass on the validity of the injunction which President Truman secured last May to break the rail strike. The rail workers want to know whether the Government can obtain an injunction without first seizing the properties involved in the dispute.

Red unions barred

As not even the extensive hearings of various congressional committees have done, the order given to General Electric by the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Committee to withdraw recognition of the United Electrical Workers as bargaining agent for employees at its Knolls power laboratory high-lighted the persisting menace of communism in the CIO. Wrote Mr. Lilienthal on September 29 to GE President Charles E. Wilson:

The failure to file non-communist affidavits and the information concerning alleged communist affiliation of these officers of UE, when taken together, present a very serious question as to whether representation of atomic-energy workers at Schenectady by a union in which such officers occupy important positions is consistent with that full and unqualified adherence and loyalty to the interests of the United States that the security of the nation and the policy of the Atomic Energy Act of 1946 require.

Mr. Lilienthal sent a similar letter to the University of Chicago banning the United Public Workers from that institution's Argonne laboratory. Though it is questionable that withdrawal of union recognition is an adequate means of guarding the security of the nation, since it is still legal for workers to belong to a proscribed union, and hence be under the influence of its officers, Mr. Lilienthal's action will render somewhat easier the task of those who are cleansing the CIO from within. Over the past year the Communists have been driven from one stronghold after another, so that today their influence is restricted to UE, the Pacific Coast longshoremen, the Public Workers and several other unions, all of them small. They have lost whatever control they had in State and city CIO councils almost everywhere—and they are about to lose New York City. In national CIO affairs, they have long since lost everything. As a result we can all breathe easier today than a year or two ago.

Can China survive?

Describing China as "the decisive area" in a worldwide tug-of-war between communist Russia and the democratic West, a subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee has appealed for immediate military assistance to the Nanking Government. The statement recognizes that the survival of China is vital to all democratic nations of the world, including our own. Yet alarming reports come almost daily about the steady progress of Chinese Communists, especially since the capture of Tsinan (AMERICA, October 9, 1948). Americans, bewildered by U. S. inaction to date, begin to ask: "How long can China hold out?" As a nation, we have incurred obligations to support China's territorial integrity. In November, 1943 President Roosevelt, together with Churchill, met in Cairo with Chiang Kai-shek. They signed and published a declaration (cf. "How We Won the War and Lost the Peace," Part II, by William C. Bullitt, *Life*, 9/6/48), promising that all territories stolen from China would be restored to their rightful owner. But at Yalta, on February 11, 1945, President Roosevelt broke the pledge given at Cairo, and signed an agreement by which China's rights in Manchuria were sacrificed to Russian imperialism. With Manchuria, there also went under Soviet influence Outer Mongolia, Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands. When President Truman sent General Marshall to China in December, 1945 to mediate in the civil war, Stalin already controlled great strategic areas in Asia. At the time neither President Truman nor General Marshall seemed to realize what this country was up against in China. But Stalin and his Chinese Communists were perfectly conscious of their "mission." While Marshall vainly tried to reason with China's Reds, the Soviets were busy arming their fifth column. They prepared for the day of ultimate conquest. Unless aid is forthcoming, that may be sooner than we like to think.

Firm policy needed now

The United States missions to China have regrettably failed. For a good while after the war some of our officials responsible for China policy were spellbound by belief that Soviet Russia was a "peace-loving democracy." To them the Chinese Communists were "mere agrarian reformers." True, General Marshall, in his report of January 7, 1947, made it clear that such was not the case, that the Chinese Reds are genuine Marxists, bent on revolution. But the policy of inaction was allowed to continue. How extremely dangerous this was to our vital interests is now evident. A communist China gives Russia strategic control of Japan, Korea and of Southeast Asia. We are now faced with a final chance to rectify our blunders. The United States must see China as part of the periphery of our national security. The House subcommittee correctly points out that chances of a "Soviet world" must not be discounted. In Asia, and especially in China, the communist empire makes decisive advances. A continent containing half of the world's population is at stake. In the face of this threat, United States policy toward the Chinese civil war must

be intelligent and consistent. Above all it must be efficacious in bringing about victory for the legitimate Government.

The Essoteric war map

The Standard Oil Company has heard many harsh words about itself during its long career; but it was left for Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vishinsky to credit Standard Oil with printing and circulating the U. S. plans for a third world war. To the average American, ESSO War Map III was a useful help to following the fortunes of our fighting men in the Pacific theatre. And he certainly did not suspect that the local gas station was handing out a top-secret document to all comers. But Mr. Vishinsky's speech to the UN on September 26 assured him that this map was really that of World War III. By the same token, it must be presumed that ESSO meant Organization to Sabotage Soviet Expansion—spelled backwards. The incident has its amusing side; but the ignorance that it reveals in the master-minds of Moscow is no laughing matter. The issue of peace or war could turn on just such a bit of misinformation.

Squeeze play

Speaking of medieval superstitions, said the Thoughtful Observer, I see that the U.S. Customs seized twenty-nine accordions last December as having entered this country illegally. Since then, I understand, they have been in some kind of musical DP camp. The Government now wishes to gain permanent possession of them. What the Government wants with twenty-nine accordions might be a fruitful source of speculation; but this is an election year, and I, said the T.O., am a strictly non-political character—at least in moderation. Now for some reason which I do not profess to know, he went on in a burst of candor, the Government must sue the accordions, not the Customs. The case will be known as *U. S. v. Twenty-nine Accordions*, or something like that. During the First World War, as you may remember, there was a case involving the banning of a moving picture, which is known by the anomalous title of *U.S. v. The Spirit of '76*. Now these medievals, he said, breaking fast from a mental T-formation, were quite used to that sort of thing. It says in the history books that they used to try dogs and cats and various other animals. Quite illogical, of course, for they had more sense than to believe that these animals were rational or capable of guilt. But follow me closely, he continued, tapping us on the sternum with the bit of his pipe, and you will see that we are just as illogical in not prosecuting dogs and cats and pigs. For I see by the article on page forty-five of this very issue of AMERICA that most of our school textbooks teach that there is no such thing as moral right or wrong, guilt or culpability. In that respect, therefore, men and dogs must be on a par. However, said he, as he reached for the doorknob, since our first principles are wrong, maybe it's just as well we are illogical. For a logician might reason that we should treat men like animals. Some governments, I am told, have already drawn that conclusion.

Washington Front

The day of the monster political meeting in America is apparently all but gone. There has been only one of such proportions in this Presidential campaign—in Cadillac Square in Detroit on the occasion of President Truman's visit there on Labor Day. But even that was in great measure attributable to the organizing job done by the unions themselves on their own great annual holiday, and not to Mr. Truman's personal pulling power alone.

This reporter has just returned from the cross-country trip taken by Gov. Thomas E. Dewey in the interest of his Republican candidacy, and although crowds here and there were sizable they were never spectacular. In the Hollywood Bowl at Los Angeles he drew perhaps 20,000—just a fair crowd for a major-league baseball game and certainly not extraordinary for a Presidential campaign meeting in a city of such size. Yet this probably was his largest crowd of the trip, and most of them were considerably smaller.

The reports from President Truman's campaign train are similar. He was greeted by some large street crowds on his West Coast tour in June, yet on his September trip his crowds generally were just fair.

A century ago crowds numbered in hundreds of thousands were gathering from all over Ireland to hear the

great Daniel O'Connell. In Italy only last Spring throngs of more than 100,000 gathered in the major cities to hear candidates in the vital election campaign that culminated in a decline of communist power. Franklin Roosevelt drew crowds of more than 100,000. Wendell Willkie's audiences eight years ago were much larger than those of the present campaign, and so, too, were Tom Dewey's just four years ago.

Various reasons are assigned. Some of Mr. Dewey's friends say they believe the smaller gatherings are due to the fact that in this election year people already have made up their minds—in the Republican candidate's favor, as they see it—and so don't need oratory to help them decide. Others suggest that neither Mr. Truman nor Mr. Dewey has the warm, colorful personality of a Roosevelt.

The truth is that for several years all the political spielers, right down to candidates for alderman and, of course, dog-catcher, have been having a hard time getting the folks to gather 'round the tail-board of their medicine-show wagon. In some States even Governors and Senators have spoken to a mere handful of listeners. Radio and television bounce the oratory right into the living room; there is no need to leave the house. There isn't much doubt that a large section of the population is apathetic toward politics and government. Hardly more than half of those who might have cast ballots in some recent national elections have taken the trouble to do so.

CHARLES LUCEY

Underscorings

In an editorial, Sept. 22, the *Christian Century*, a leading American Protestant weekly, draws attention to the unequivocal condemnation by the Most. Rev. Francis Hennemann, Catholic Bishop of Cape Town, of the segregation policy followed by the Malan Government in South Africa. Calling the Government's policy "noxious, un-Christian and destructive," the bishop went on:

To make matters worse, all this is being done in the name of Christian civilization. Christian civilization, we are asked to believe, is the same thing as white civilization. The truth is that there is no such thing as a white [Christian] civilization. If it is white exclusively, it is not Christian, and if it is Christian it is not white.

Reacting to such criticism, from non-Catholic as well as Catholic sources, Dr. Malan protested that he had at heart the best interests of both white and colored populations, and that his policy would "assuredly lead to a greater independence and self-respect among the colored people." One cannot but be reminded of such stalwart defenders of the interests of colored people as Mr. Rankin of Mississippi and the late Senator Bilbo.

► In Tuticorin, India, Bishop Francis T. Roche, S.J., has forbidden all practices smacking of caste distinction

in the churches of his diocese. Certain Christians of South India, it would seem, did not realize that, as Pius XII has said, all the children of God must be equally at home in the house of God.

► In the interest of promoting the beatification of Father Damien, the apostle of the lepers of Molokai, His Excellency Archbishop Cicognani, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, has written a booklet giving a short sketch of the heroic Damien's life. Father Damien's cause is reported to be progressing favorably at Rome. The booklet is published by the Fathers of the Sacred Heart, 4930 S. Dakota Ave., Washington 17, D. C., at fifty cents. Profits from the sale of the booklet will be used to further the cause of Father Damien.

► The Catholic schools of America are being urged by the National Catholic Educational Association to observe Oct. 24 as United Nations Day. It seems pertinent here to recall the proposals for observance of United Nations Week issued by the National Council of Catholic Women and reported in this column Sept. 18.

► Following meetings at Lourdes in which representatives from eighteen countries took part, an International Federation of Men's Catholic Action was formed Sept. 20. The Federation was founded at the suggestion of Dr. Gedda, president of the Italian group, who had previously obtained the Holy Father's approval of the proposal. An international congress is planned, to be held in Rome during the Holy Year of 1950.

Editorials

Divided Gaul

A year ago last summer American visitors to France left that strife-torn country shaking their heads. The Communists, with 183 deputies in the Assembly, were the largest political party, and even those who most distrusted the Reds sorrowfully admitted that no French cabinet could be formed without them. Furthermore, through their control of the Confédération Générale du Travail (CGT), the Communists were in a position to paralyze France economically. This, it was thought, they were prepared to do the minute they should be forced out of the Government. "How escape from this impossible dilemma," said a shrewd Frenchman last year to a traveling AMERICA editor in Paris. "You can't govern with them and you can't govern without them."

Since that time, emboldened by the Marshall Plan and the sensational victory of the anti-communist de Gaullist movement in the 1947 municipal elections, the moderates in the Assembly have chosen to sit on one of the horns of their dilemma. They have tried to govern without the Communists. After a great deal of soul-searching, and in the wake of dire developments in Eastern Europe, the party of Leon Blum decided to break completely with the Communists. Thus the way was prepared for the "Third Force," a loose coalition comprising the Socialists with their 100 members in the Assembly, the Popular Republicans with 152 deputies, and some 120 assorted others from the Radical Socialist and other "center" parties.

The task of the Third Force, so its spokesmen said, was to save France from the extreme Left (the Communists) and the extreme Right (the de Gaullists). Under the firm leadership of Maurice Schuman, a Popular Republican, it seemed for a while that the coalition, despite the conflicting economic viewpoints it represented, might succeed. A bold but ill-timed communist attempt to destroy the Government by a general strike was energetically smashed. The prospects of Marshall Plan aid encouraged hopes that inflation might soon be brought under control and the economy stabilized. Daily the menace from the East became more concrete, thus furnishing fresh incentive to make the coalition work. Even the workers, including a majority of those in the CGT, weary of constant strikes and ceaseless agitation, were disposed to give the new Government a chance to bring wages and prices into line.

Such was the situation in France a year ago—desperate but by no means hopeless. Despite its artificial genesis, the Third Force had a chance to live.

Now that hope is dead, dead because the parties which composed the coalition could not bury their conflicting interests in zeal for the general welfare. France needed a tough anti-inflationary policy, one that would demand

sacrifices from the workers, and even heavier sacrifices from the farmers and small businessmen. Because the Third Force lacked the unity and strength to sponsor such a policy, it failed. It exists today only on paper, ruling by virtue of a parliamentary majority which no longer reflects popular political sentiment. The proof of this was the refusal last month of the present leaders to hold the October elections as scheduled. They understandably feared the result.

How serious the situation now is can be judged by the recrudescence of communist-sponsored strikes which last week shut down the coal mines, by rumors that certain socialist leaders are willing again to have the Communists in the Government, by the cryptic words spoken by de Gaulle at a press conference on October 1. Asked how he intended to come to power, the General replied that he would do so democratically, at the call of the people; but he added:

If the people are not consulted and if the country drifts into a state of collapse and illegitimacy, I reserve until then what is to follow.

France has had her share of revolutions. Neither she nor the free world can afford one now. Under the circumstances, the Government might well reconsider its decision to postpone the elections, and give the people a chance to chart the course they want to follow.

Voice of America

After Philip C. Jessup, U. S. representative on the Security Council, had delivered himself of a 10,000-word speech as debate opened on the Berlin blockade, John Hohenberg, N. Y. *Post* correspondent, cabled his paper that it was "a lawyer's dream of a speech." As such it undoubtedly suited the circumstances, since Mr. Vishinsky had challenged the authority of the Council on what he was pleased to call legal grounds. Knowing Mr. Jessup's standing as an international lawyer, we are assured, before we have had a chance to read his brief, that he demolished Vishinsky's phony legalisms. But we are beginning to believe that more than presentation of the legal aspects of the Western case against Russia is needed in order to achieve our purpose in Paris. That purpose, if we have analyzed the strategy of the Western Powers correctly, is to win an overwhelming moral condemnation of Russia's resort to force as an instrument of policy. In view of Russia's veto power, the Western Powers could not have hoped that the Council could coerce the Russians to change their ways. The most they can hope for is a Council judgment against Russia, which will then be discussed at length in the Assembly. It is in that body that the United States and its associates must win their victory. That victory would consist in a

resolution, passed by the largest possible majority, condemning in the most forceful terms Soviet tactics not only in Berlin but throughout the convulsed world.

At Lake Success we have listened to the American spokesmen who will, presumably, present our case before the Assembly. Putting it mildly, there is not a Bevin or a Spaak, a Manuisky or a Vishinsky among them. Neither as debaters nor as orators are the American representatives in the same class as their competitors in Paris. Yet it is the debater who is also a powerful orator who will be needed during the Assembly's sessions.

Summer Welles suggested recently that a bi-partisan board of advisors be appointed to assist Secretary Marshall in the present emergency in order to gain the widest possible support for our foreign policy. Among those he suggested for the board was Senator Vandenberg. It occurs to us that the Senator would be more immediately valuable as a member of the American delegation at Paris. He has repeatedly proven his oratorical power in the Senate, where he has brought even Democrats cheering to their feet; he has an intimate knowledge of the Charter which he helped to draft at San Francisco; as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee he has a no less intimate understanding of American policy; and what is equally important, he has had invaluable experience in negotiating with the Russians. Of all the American delegates at San Francisco, Messrs. Molotov and Gromyko respected him the most highly. This is an epochal moment, as the Senator said in his recent radio address on foreign policy, "when America alone is capable of world leadership to preserve free souls, free speech, free ballots and free states."

But that world leadership must have a voice. We nominate Senator Vandenberg as the voice of America at Paris.

Conscience and the atom bomb

The release of atomic energy some three years ago was the culmination of a long and laborious work of research and the fulfillment of the dreams of a generation of scientists; yet this historic achievement was taken very soberly by the scientists and by the world at large. A new era, full of promise for mankind, had dawned; but its rising sun was obscured by the smoke of burning cities. We had pried loose the last seal and the genie came roaring out of the heart of the atom, spreading death and destruction with his fiery breath. Though we set him upon our enemies, our conscience is still uneasy.

There is cold comfort for troubled consciences in the plannings and predictions of our scientists and military men. Plutonium, the man-made nuclear explosive, is now being produced on a "factory-size scale." Our military high command is talking of a fifty-year defense plan, starting from the present comparatively primitive state of armament development and progressing through world coverage by the air arm to world-girdling rockets charged with atomic death, bacteria, lethal rays and poison gases. And Colonel Dale O. Smith of the U.S. Air Force—speaking strictly for himself, to be sure, though he writes

in the quarterly published by the U.S. Air Force's air university in Alabama—advises us against overlooking "the strategic results of population destruction in urban areas."

In a nation of extreme specialization, where each man is likely to know how to perform only one type of work, population bombing may well result in an economic dislocation beyond all expectations.

Fitting epitaph for the tombstone of a civilization.

It is easy to denounce Colonel Smith; but it is more profitable to try to account for him. Colonel Smith is no barbarian; President Truman was no barbarian when he spoke the words that destroyed Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Both the Colonel and the President are charged with the defense of our lives and homes against our enemies. We expect that both of them shall be prepared to cope with whatever weapons the ingenuity of our enemies may hurl against us. We provide them lavishly with men, money, machines and technical ability. What we do not provide is moral guidance.

There is a curious oversight, which may mask a possible contradiction, in the justification offered for the bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima, i.e., that the use of the atom bomb saved countless American lives. For there are principles for which Americans are professedly prepared to die. Shall we abandon those principles in order to save our lives? That is the question which is not asked in the discussions about the bomb. But it is the question we must ask, in season and out of season, if we are not to blunder into barbarism. The task before those who provide our moral leadership is to re-create the moral climate in which it is understood by all the people that there can be too high a price for life and security. Certainly any wanton use of the atom bomb would be too high a price.

During the war, the Editors of this Review drew up a question on the morality of bombing which was circulated to a dozen or more professional moralists. The answers revealed a great diversity of opinion, and showed the necessity for much more work on the moral questions involved in modern war than has yet been done. There is still no well-developed body of doctrine dealing with the questions raised by war in our times.

It is not sufficient to point to the classic principles. What is needed is the application of these to war as it actually is and as it will probably be in the future. What may a nation legitimately do when suddenly attacked with today's weapons of mass destruction? Where is the line to be drawn between combatants and non-combatants when a nation has integrated practically its whole economy into the war effort? To answer these questions without needlessly hampering a nation in the defense of its people, and yet without allowing it to degenerate into barbaric slaughter of the innocent, will call for a great deal of thought and discussion.

More than that—the fruits of this thought and discussion must become public property and set the public temper. It will doubtless be a long, slow process; so it cannot begin soon enough. In morals as in military affairs, the time of peace is the time to prepare for war.

Moscow "replies"

The Kremlin's reply to our State Department's "White Paper" on the breakdown of the Moscow negotiations (cf. "Moscow impasse," AM. 10/9 p. 6) was broadcast from Moscow on October 4. Does it suggest in any way that the Russians are bargaining in good faith?

Since the Berlin blockade, which began on April 1, reached its climax on June 23 with the closing of all land and water transport to the former German capital, one wonders why Russia waited until October to reveal the "real reasons" for these extreme measures. We now learn that because the Western Powers, in the London conference last spring, encouraged the formation of a German government, "their right to administer Berlin . . . loses its meaning." Previously alleged reasons proved too indigestible even for propaganda purposes. "Technical difficulties" made the Germans inquire about Soviet engineering incompetence. "Currency reform" boomeranged because this reform was not undertaken until June 18, whereas the blockade dated from April 1. Moreover, we were willing to negotiate towards a solution of the currency problem.

In the August 2 interview in Moscow between Stalin and representatives of the West, it is true, the Marshal developed the argument that communications with Berlin had been interrupted because of the decision reached in March to set up a Western German government. Our representatives explained that the Frankfurt government was merely provisional and would in no way hamper eventual understanding with Russia on the establishment of a central government for Germany. Stalin thereupon made the following proposal as part of his suggestion "to settle the matter" (i.e., the blockade impasse) that night: "He would no longer ask as a condition the deferment of the implementation of the London decisions, although he wished this to be recorded as the insistent wish of the Soviet Government." Our State Department thereupon sent Ambassador Smith conciliatory instructions on this phase of the negotiations.

When the Western representatives held four long meetings with Molotov to draft the terms of the "directive" on which the military commanders in Berlin were to negotiate a settlement, Molotov reintroduced a paragraph on the London decisions. We considered this a maneuver to make the "deferment of the implementation of the London decisions" a condition of the proposed settlement. Although we might have yielded on this point, since Molotov's paragraph merely restated our own position and Stalin's "insistent wish," we took exception to it, possibly because we feared, from past experience, that Russia would revive the question in Berlin on the score that it was included in the directive as an "insistent wish." This issue, however, did not bulk large in the objections we raised to Molotov's counter-proposals, since they contained many more offensive provisions.

All that need be said in defense of the London decisions themselves is that they were taken as a necessary step in the revival of Germany and Europe. They were taken without Russian approval for the usual reason that

the Kremlin would not agree to any arrangements looking to such revival.

Passing over all other distortions and misrepresentations in the Soviet reply, let us merely mention the most glaring. It repeatedly quotes the text of the "directive agreed upon" by the Four Powers in Moscow. *No text was ever agreed upon.* It speaks of "the unsettled question" of control along air routes when *no issue was ever raised in Moscow on air travel.* This was Sokolovsky's contribution to "peace" in the Berlin breakdown later. He pretended that the regulations imposed by the Control Council's decision of November 30, 1945 restricted the use of air corridors to the needs of the occupation forces. The plain fact is that we never agreed to this Soviet proposal at the time, and that air traffic since then has been subject only to agreed safety regulations. Finally, the Russians now talk of "the non-existing 'blockade of Berlin.'"

Our refusal to withdraw the Berlin dispute from the UN and resume Four-Power negotiations, as the USSR has proposed, until the blockade has been lifted, is therefore a refusal to "negotiate" with coercive hypocrisy so profound it has become pathological.

Interracial marriage

The action of the California Supreme Court on October 1, declaring unconstitutional that State's law against interracial marriages, gives occasion for explanation of two aspects of this rather inflammatory question.

First, the doctrine of the Catholic Church. Since the two parties who appealed to the court were both Catholics, this point is very pertinent here. Canon 1038, par. 2 expresses the settled teaching of the Church when it declares that, where baptized persons are concerned, the Church alone has the right to establish impediments to marriage. This doctrine was clearly and cogently expounded by Father Francis J. Connell, C.S.S.R., in the December, 1938 *Ecclesiastical Review*. Father Connell was dealing with laws forbidding marriage because of social diseases. He concludes that while "Catholics must in prudence conform to such statutes," both priests and laity should realize that "such laws are an infringement of the Church's authority and an unwarranted restriction of the natural right to marry." Clearly, laws against interracial marriage are no less an infringement of the Church's exclusive right to declare impediments to the marriage of the baptized. And the Church has no legislation forbidding the marriage of persons of different races.

The second aspect is that of prudence. Granted that a white person and a Negro have the natural, God-given right to marry, if that is their choice and both are free from impediments, they should realize that such a marriage, in our country and in our time, may involve them in great personal problems and difficulties. There are few people who can accept such a burden. Toward them the attitude of Catholics will be dictated by respect for the person redeemed by Christ and the sacrament instituted by Him.

Alternatives to released time

Robert C. Hartnett

When the Supreme Court decision of last March torpedoed the released-time system of religious education in the public schools, religious educators showed renewed interest in other ways of plugging the gap in our tax-supported network of schools. In the pages of *Religious Education*, the foremost review dealing with this problem, as well as in other writings, several different alternatives have been discussed. The urgency of finding some method of inculcating basic religious beliefs in the minds of American youths will become much greater if released time, even when conducted off school premises, should be brought under the judicial veto.

Catholics, it seems to me, should interest themselves in the search for alternatives. In the first place, any expedient adopted will directly affect the religious instruction of millions of Catholic boys and girls in public elementary and secondary schools. Besides, as religious-minded Americans, we are deeply concerned about the religious needs of non-Catholic children. Whether or not they are to receive systematic instruction beyond what can be given in Sunday schools will depend entirely on the success of these alternatives. Even if off-the-premises RT is sustained, many educators and not a few clergymen favor the adoption of additional means of closing the breach between secular and religious schooling. What is at stake is the future of religion in our democracy.

FIVE PROPOSALS

In all, five different alternatives to RT have been suggested, although they are not mutually exclusive. The most realistic seems to be the proposal to establish religious centers, conducted by church organizations, near each public school. These would be recreational, cultural and social in function, as well as purely religious. Religious instruction would be given to as many children as would voluntarily frequent these centers outside the public-school day. Apart from the obvious difficulties of financing and staffing the centers and attracting tired pupils, some writers point out the trend of the public schools to absorb more and more of the child's day—not to mention, in the light of high taxes, more and more of his father's pay.

Dr. F. Ernest Johnson is the outstanding advocate of the proposal outlined in the 1947 study of the American Council on Education entitled *Religion in Relation to Education*. In this proposal public-school teachers would deal with religion as they are supposed to deal with other academic subjects: that is, simply explaining (instead of advocating) the social tenets and programs of religious groups in the course of instruction on American institutions generally. Teachers would be carefully prepared for this phase of their work by appropriate measures adopted in teacher-training institutions. The basic

Father Hartnett, returned to the Editorial Staff of AMERICA, examines some of the repercussions of the Supreme Court's McCollum decision on released time for religion classes in public schools. The schools may have lost a round, but they are still in the fight.

concept underlying this proposal is that no education is worthy of the name unless it includes instruction about social phenomena as important as those in religious areas. It should be made clear that Dr. Johnson considers such instruction essential independently of the McCollum decision, which came after the publication of the American Council's report. Teaching about religion in this way is not, strictly speaking, an alternative to RT, except in the sense that without RT it has become all the more necessary.

Influential Protestants, such as the editors of the *Christian Century* (liberal Protestant), also advocate the teaching of religion in public schools "as a major social phenomenon," so that American youth would acquire "knowledge of its significance in history and in contemporary culture." Their attitude differs somewhat from that of educators, at least in the overtones of their approach. The *Christian Century* applauded the McCollum decision and continually takes to task the many Protestants—including the twenty-four bishops, theologians and others who signed a manifesto criticizing it—who are only "playing the Roman Catholic game."

It seems pertinent to call attention to the difference between a purely educational and a religious espousal of the American Council's proposal. In view of the deepdyed hostility to the Catholic religion which runs as a theme through the *Christian Century*, we might well wonder how Catholicism "as a social phenomenon" would fare in the classrooms of public-school teachers of this persuasion. Would not serious difficulties arise among Protestants themselves in the selection of "three broadly trained theological specialists—a Protestant, a Catholic and a Jew" to provide prospective public-school teachers with the background required to deal with religion as a "social phenomenon"?

The *Christian Century* supposes that "what the Supreme Court did was to forbid the church to teach religion in the public schools. It did not forbid the public school itself to teach religion." This is a very debatable position. Many students of the Everson and McCollum decisions fear that any explicit religious instruction might be considered to fall under the heading of "religious activities" and "aid to religion," both banned. If the editors have in mind a course dealing with religious activities (something not envisioned by the American Council), both the wisdom and legality of their proposal seem doubtful.

This leads us to an examination of the third alternative. Quite a few writers would like to launch a program wherein all public-school children would be offered a course in the beliefs common to "all forms of religion," with "sectarian" doctrines left out. This is the "least common denominator" approach. In itself, the proposal

need not be viewed as a substitute for sectarian instruction, which would have to be given by regular church-controlled groups entirely apart from our tax-supported educational system.

Here again we have a proposal which assumes that what is now unconstitutional is only "sectarian" and not simply "religious" instruction. If Justice Black's constitutional embargo is to be taken literally, however, it hardly admits of any such limitation. For he declared, in the *Everson* case in February, 1947: "No tax in whatever amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practise religion." And further: "Neither a State nor the Federal Government can . . . pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion to another" (italics inserted). Surely, teaching a part of what all religions teach is a religious activity and an "aid" to them.

Apart from the theological difficulties involved in the "least common denominator" approach, therefore, it is almost certain to run into legal barriers. The writer happens to know of one program conducted in a single public school in a large metropolitan center. The plan employs basic religious concepts to bolster desirable civic attitudes. These efforts, which certainly fall short of any full-dress attempt to teach religion explicitly, have several times got their sponsor into hot water. If infinite tact on the part of a principal and courageous support from higher superiors are necessary to keep such an innocent program afloat, what future is there for courses in basic religion? You can hardly explain our motto, "In God We Trust," without arousing serious opposition.

The proposal most obnoxious to Catholics is that espoused by Dr. W. C. Bower in his *Church and State in Education* (1944), one of many volumes published on this general subject in the past three or four years. Dr. Bower represents views of which modernistic Protestants are fond. They regard religion as entirely "functional" in purpose, its function being to bring the human mind (or, perhaps better, human emotions) into harmony with the "cosmic forces ruling the universe." This approach to religion is entirely psychological. It reduces religious truth to the level of any comfortable attitudes towards reality which help you to feel at home in the universe. The bugaboo of these writers is any suggestion that this is God's universe and that the only way to feel at home in it (even temporarily) is to discover God's purpose in creating it and putting us here. Such traditional doctrines are rejected as "stereotyped dogmas," "sectarian," "outmoded," "unscientific," "unsuited to modern modes of thinking." What we need is a "humanistic" religion—that is, man-centered and comfortable—for those who can derive any comfort from it. All that need be said of this proposal is that when its advocates speak of "teaching religion" they do not mean what we mean by "religion." Any resemblance is purely unintentional.

There is a fifth and last proposal. Here and there Protestants are saying that if "naturalistic authoritarianism" drives them to it, they will have to establish paro-

chial schools like ours. The Lutherans already have some of them, and Catholics would probably like to see more Protestants get first-hand experience of what it means to support a school system from private resources. But no one seems to expect a widespread expansion along these lines.

CONCLUSIONS

All of these expedients, except that for which Dr. Bower stands, seem worth trying. That of establishing religious centers near public schools can be put to work immediately wherever religious-minded people are willing to put their backs into it. We already have Newman Clubs and Canterbury Clubs in colleges. Why not in connection with high schools and elementary schools? The American Council system could be given a cautious trial in any State, even if it meant asking church groups to supply lecturers in normal schools gratis. What should be envisaged, it seems to me, is something fairly simple: making available to future teachers, in a rather informal



way, the information they need to round out intelligently their present teaching about American life. A lot would be accomplished if such teachers made the acquaintance of clergymen representing different religious groups. They would learn to respect them, and they would gain an authentic insight into their beliefs and social attitudes. This would surely put public-school teachers in better rapport with children of various communions. And it would take the wraps off religion as a social force in the United States. I have already indicated the snags which any attempt to teach basic religious concepts would be almost sure to encounter, at least in metropolitan centers. Possibly something could be ventured in small towns and rural districts. As far as establishing Protestant parochial schools goes, the field is wide open.

The interest shown in these alternatives to RT proves that the McCollum decision has alerted the leaders in this field. What we must do now is to alert parents. The issue confronting us is very serious. As Dr. F. Ernest Johnson has pointed out, the most ominous aspect of the decision is that it has tried to relegate religion in America among men's "private" concerns. This action is in conflict both with American constitutional traditions and with the very nature of religion. Even Hitler did not close the churches. Unless a government recognizes the mission of religious truth to win acceptance as the guiding light of all human conduct, public as well as private, it is not allowing religion free scope. For religious truth by definition is sovereign in human affairs. It cannot retain its identity corralled in a play-pen. We cannot conform to a religious code as private individuals and shelve it as citizens. The dominant tradition in America

has never been in favor of "privatizing" religion. President Roosevelt was expressing our age-old tradition when he declared that religion was the cornerstone of both American democracy and international good faith.

Will not sincere adherents of belief in God and in His sovereign truth redouble their efforts to make religious attitudes socially effective, now that they see plainly that secularism has captured the stronghold of the Supreme Court itself? For there is no cure for secularism save by recovering the ground we have lost, or even yielded by our neglect, all the way from kindergarten through professional schools, especially law schools. The well-springs have been poisoned. We must set about purifying them at every turn.

Checkmate in India

Sister M. Elise Wynen, M.D.

Khan Bahadur Ahmed Ali (that is not his real name, but it has much the same accent), buttoned up to the chin in a tight-fitting white-silk sherwani (coat), gnarled brown hands folded over a gold-topped cane, sits in state in his gleaming black car, and studies me intently from under his bushy black eyebrows. We are on our way from Holy Family Hospital in Patna City to a tiny village in the interior of Bihar, his ancestral homestead and private kingdom. This is not our first trip. Women doctors are as scarce as hen's teeth in any but the largest towns of India. Three years ago I had been called in for an emergency operation in this household. Since then every serious illness in this zenana (women's quarters) means a long car ride for me. The male physician attached to the patriarchal family can examine the purdah ladies from behind a curtain only. Such is the force of tradition in India.

The elderly Mussulman, despite his paralyzing home environment as a wealthy landowner, is a keen student of Indian affairs. All his life has been spent in this small Bihar village where all the peasants are Hindus. While a devout Mohammedan, he is neither fanatic nor bigoted. His conversation, though slow-moving and ponderous, is seldom boring. It often reminds me of a game of chess. First we remove a number of pawns by disposing of the health of his various wives and daughters. Then we maneuver the heavy pieces into place, keeping back one major item for an unexpected *coup d'état*. One never can tell how the game will end: win, lose or draw. The invisible Master Player on my side may supply a surprise move at the exact psychological moment.

This time, after the preliminaries are out of the way: "Sister-ji," begins the Khan Bahadur, earnestly, "when you are finished with the ladies, I want you to meet my son-in-law, the husband of my fourth daughter. He has just arrived from Delhi. He has been working with his uncle, a famous Lucknow professor, on a government scheme to better the health of India. You will be interested to know that India is studying this matter seri-

ously, and will take suitable steps to remedy the untoward situation."

"If he would only talk Urdu, instead of second-hand book English," I think for perhaps the tenth time. I know from experience that requests and remonstrances would be useless. Courtesy and pride forbid him to act otherwise. Only the ladies, who know no English at all, will give me a chance to practise the beautiful, liquid accents of their native tongue, a compound of Sanskrit, Persian and Arabic.

So I merely answer: "I'll be very pleased to meet the gentleman. Is he a doctor also?"

The heavy black Astrakhan fez nods assent. "He is doing public-health work, a much needed specialty in this country. He has been telling us some of his experiences with melas (religious fairs), cholera epidemics, famine relief and village sanitation. The conditions are even worse than I had realized."

"Cholera, malnutrition, typhoid, dysentery, malaria, all are daily visitors in our hospital, Khan Bahadur," I reply. "When the villages have no safe water supply, no decent roads to bring them quick medical relief, no schools to teach them healthy living and proper farming, what else can you expect?"

"My son-in-law tells me there are over a million deaths from malaria per year in this country, about 200,000 deaths from cholera, 500,000 due to tuberculosis, and many more thousands due to typhoid, dysentery and plague. Add to that the economic loss due to the amount of non-fatal illness, which must be five to ten times greater than the mortality figures."

Again I say: "Well, Khan Bahadur, what can you expect? Nearly ninety per cent of India lives in the villages, where they have no medical care, no education, no help whatever. What else can the poor people do but be born, get sick, and die before their time? Life expectancy is only twenty-seven years in India. Three weeks ago a family from your own village brought two of their sons into Holy Family Hospital, sick with cholera. It had taken them eight hours to carry the boys through the flooded rice fields, find a tom-tom (horse-drawn carriage) to bring them to the town, change several times on the way, and ask their way to the hospital. When they arrived one of the boys was dying, and the other far gone. We saved the second one by means of good American blood plasma. How many more people in your village died at home?"

The black fez and beard nod again. No answer to my question, which according to the rules of this curious game will have to remain rhetorical, or become discourteous. I do not press the matter. What would be the use? A few victims more or less, what of it? Human life is the cheapest thing in India. Yet the old man is not deliberately insincere. There is such a tremendous gap between theory and practice.

There is silence for a time, as we drive past rice fields a foot deep in muddy water. The monsoon planting is on. Long rows of coolies, men and women, are bent double over their back-breaking labor. Slowly they work their way backwards, transplanting the precious rice-seedlings,

one by one, in the thick black loam. Between the blazing sun and the splashing water they haven't a dry thread on their rickety, half-starved bodies. This is how the real India lives—and dies.

"But," the Khan Bahadur starts up again, "all this will be changed. My son-in-law tells me that the Government of India has great plans. His uncle has helped to compile a report on the health of the country, and on the way in which medical relief can be brought to the villages. You will be amazed at the scope and the efficiency of these schemes."

I smile quietly. I, too, have read the Bhoire Report. I know of the elaborate five- and ten-year plans that have been suggested, all quite feasible on paper but bristling with underground difficulties in practice. My mind wanders a little while he goes into careful detail: so many units, each comprising a small village hospital for every ten to twenty thousand persons; each unit to have six doctors, two of them women; six public-health nurses, and a complete nursing staff for the hospital; maternity and child-welfare work; school nurses, industrial-health nurses; better medical schools, etc., etc. It just doesn't fit into the setting. As his sonorous voice runs down at last, I insert: "Have you any idea how many workers this plan will take, Khan Sahib?"

"Ji-han, Doctor-ji: 75,000 nurses in the first ten years, with a total of 800,000 within forty years; also 180,000 doctors, 100,000 midwives, besides dentists, pharmacists and other trained personnel."

"The man really does know his stuff," I can't help thinking; "but I doubt if he has the faintest idea what it means." Aloud I say: "And where do you expect all these doctors and nurses to come from?"

"Why, all this will be done by the Government, of course. The days of private medical practice are over, Doctor-ji. From now on the Government must supply proper medical care to the people, free of cost. The doctors and nurses will have a regular salary, hospitals will be built and maintained by the state, and the money will be recovered in taxes. That is the only way. Look at Russia!"

Sooner or later, in every conversation on India in India, the example of Russia turns up. "They have done it, why can't we?" is the theme song. No one mentions the price that was paid for it. Is India going to run its head into the noose of communism, without even knowing what the word means? How would the Russian methods succeed among Indians, touchy, individualistic, undisciplined? But the old man runs blithely on: "Every village will have its medical center, with doctors and nurses and midwives in attendance. Picture for yourself what good they will do, by giving the sick prompt medical aid, by going into the homes for maternity care, by teaching the mothers how to raise their babies. . . ."

I continue to regard him quizzically, my eyebrows raised as far as they will go. At last he can no longer ignore them. "What is it, Sister-ji?" he asks, a little uneasily. Then I let him have it.

"What would you say, Khan Bahadur, if I told you that Fatma, your youngest daughter, would like to do

just that kind of work? She could start in your own village, visit the poor people's homes, take care of their sick and their babies, teach the mothers how to raise them properly. . . ."

The face before me is blacker than a thundercloud. "My Fatma!" he rumbles, furiously. "Why certainly *not*! What nonsense! We are getting her married next year! Besides, our ladies are in purdah. They do not go out in public. Imagine her, out on the roads at all hours of the day and night, mixing with all kinds of people. . . ."

Too late he realizes that his king is checkmated. "You see, Khan Sahib, there lies the main difficulty. Nearly



all the fathers in India feel as you do. My daughter a nurse? Never! Purdah, caste, early marriage, motherhood, all conspire to prevent them. Again I ask you, where are India's nurses to come from?"

No Indian ever stays deflated long. With a quick twist he tries to extricate himself. "Why,

that is where we need you, kind Sister, to come to the aid of our poor women," he answers with a bow and a bland smile. But we both know it is a hopeless attempt. Flattery will not solve this problem. How can foreign missionaries, no matter how keen, ever begin to fill the medical needs of a whole continent?

"We are here to help, that is true," I answer. "But our best contribution is to teach the women of India to help their own people. Yes, there is a way. We have over forty Indian student nurses in our hospital. They are all Christians."

But India's Christians number only two per cent of the total population! Up to this time they have supplied most of the 8,000 nurses available, but they cannot possibly contribute the total number needed for adequate nursing care of the whole country. These are the two horns of the dilemma: India, as it now stands, cannot find, among the Hindus and Mohammedans, the devoted women needed for this government scheme of village medical care. It must make a turn of some sort, change its basic attitudes in some way, before this plan can become a reality. Which way shall it be? Rome or Russia? Christ or Stalin? Christian charity or brute force? The choice is still open. For how much longer? No one can predict that. But talking will not solve the problem.

For the rest of the drive Khan Bahadur is silent, and so am I. Who is the winner this time? But some good may come out of this conversation. The tiny rice seedlings by the roadside look puny and pale, yet they will feed the whole of India, eventually. Thus, too, the Word is sown.

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Economic and moral issues of ERP

Sister M. Thomasine

Sister Thomasine, O.P., Professor of Economics at Rosary College, River Forest, Ill., is no stranger to the pages of AMERICA. Articles contributed by her include "Lord Keynes and the morals of money," 5/25/46, and U.S. agenda at Geneva," 5/3/47. Here she finds duties as well as dollars in ERP.

The European Recovery Program, which may rapidly generate its own war of nerves in and outside of the American political arena, demands something more of the average citizen than the mere frightened concession that perhaps, after all, dollars are necessary to prevent further aggression and civil wars. He should understand why—even apart from Soviet obstructions—financial assistance, first to Western Europe and the Far East and later to Latin America, is economically justified. He should recognize also that dollars wisely distributed and with no tied loans attached will indirectly benefit the entire trading world. And he should appreciate from the outset that the cooperation required for the recovery and development of the international economy involves not only practical economic problems but many moral ones as well.

The economic justification of the recovery program rests primarily upon the fact that it is the only remaining way in which world production and trade can be revived. Since the ordinary means for securing foreign exchange are not available to trading areas whose economies have been devastated or seriously distorted by war, such countries are forced to rely on loans and gifts to assist them in their joint efforts toward reconstruction.

The need of this type of aid was, to be sure, anticipated by Allied planners as early as 1942. Yet both the wartime planners and the postwar policy-makers tended to underestimate the effects of total war and prolonged political and social unrest. As a consequence, some of the agencies created to promote recovery, such as Lend Lease and UNRRA, were terminated too soon, while others, like the International Bank, were organized too late or on too small a scale.

Nor did the planners foresee the extent to which international trade would be disrupted. Heretofore the trading areas of the world have been more or less interdependent and complementary—a characteristic which was apparent even in the darkest years of the 1930's. Thus, as the United States depended upon Latin America and the tropics for certain foods and raw materials, so these latter regions relied upon Great Britain and Western Europe for manufactured goods. Britain and Western Europe, again, although enjoying over one-half of the total world trade, were by no means self-sufficient. On the contrary, most of their food and raw materials were supplied by Eastern Europe, Scandinavia and overseas colonies; while certain specialized products, such as machinery and durable consumer goods, were imported from the United States.

At present this trade pattern is being profoundly changed. Many Latin-American countries now desire to purchase more goods from the United States than their dollar assets will permit. Britain and Western Europe,

too, are short of commodities, not merely through the loss of Eastern European supplies, but principally because of their inability to produce enough dollar-earning exports.

In attempting to meet the needs of other nations along with the demands of its own prosperous economy, the United States on its part is faced with a critical postwar inflation. Indeed, the so-called "dollar famine" is nothing more than an urgent world-wide demand for American goods and services. That this demand will persist throughout the 1950's seems highly probable since, as the London *Economist* stated last April 17:

The last factor—the old triangular balance between Europe, other non-European areas and the United States—has also vanished. Not only has Europe a gigantic deficit with the United States, the non-European nations have an equal one and there can be no question for years to come of earning dollars by selling to nations with a dollar surplus. All are equally indebted and equally in need.

The granting of dollars to debtor nations may therefore be viewed as a first step toward the restoration of world trade. The Economic Cooperation Administration, an agency formed to direct the recovery program, is now generously assisting foreign countries in the cooperative development of regional production and trade. Britain and Western Europe have already achieved larger outputs within what is known as the Western Union area. Economic growth in the Latin-American region should likewise be fostered by loans from the United States—provided, of course, that social and political reforms accompany technological progress.

Furthermore, the movement of dollars around the world should ultimately lead to a marked increase in trade between each of these various economic regions. As Secretary Marshall declared in his opening address at the Bogatá conference this spring, Latin America will gain as much from the recovery of Europe as will the United States. If Latin-American countries acting together can supply Europe with certain commodities, they will be repaid either in dollars or in the manufactured goods which the Western Union area should soon be able to export in larger quantities. At the same time, a revival of European production will allow the United States to ship more steel and machinery to the under-developed countries in this region and thereby assist them in the process of economic growth.

Financial aid to the United Kingdom and Western Europe should similarly promote trade between the United States and the members of the British Commonwealth. Although these latter countries expanded their economies to meet Allied wartime needs, they have not always obtained an acceptable type of payment for their goods. Canada, for example, as a seller to Britain and

Western Europe and a traditional customer of the United States, is far more anxious to receive dollars than other currencies in exchange for its exports. Australia, too, while desiring that the world market be open to its primary products, now seeks funds with which it can buy American capital goods. Yet each of these countries is in the uncomfortable position of having an excess of non-convertible assets in Britain and is facing the prospect of a growing deficit with the United States.

The situation will be temporarily eased through the dollars recently allotted by the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) to Britain and Western Europe for purchases outside the United States. Such allotments, however, do not compensate for the Dominion balances now blocked in London. Nor can the situation be permanently improved apart from joint action such as that suggested at the International Trade Conference held in Geneva last summer. Both the United States and the members of the British Commonwealth were urged at this conference to reduce their tariffs and other trade barriers so that interregional trade could be established on a more harmonious basis.

Cooperation, in fact, is vitally essential to the new outlook on trade. It is a prerequisite for the success of the recovery program as well as for the maintenance of international prosperity. Even the United States will gradually lose its position of leading exporter if the rest of the world is obliged for an indefinite period of time to borrow dollars in order to buy American goods and services. Instead, Americans themselves must be willing to spend more money abroad. This means that in actual practice Americans must travel more, import those goods which aid business and employment, conserve American resources and improve the status of low-income groups. In addition, Americans should understand that a world depression can be avoided only if the United States joins with other countries in adopting a program to stabilize its economy. For although there are definite limits to the level of imports which a nation as richly endowed as the United States can maintain, these imports will nevertheless be considerably greater during a period of world prosperity, when foreign countries are able to produce a sufficient quantity and variety of foods and services to meet increasing American demands.

To advocate greater cooperation within and between the trading regions is not, however, to minimize the many difficulties involved, whether these are economic or moral in character. In either case, their solution will largely depend upon particular desires and needs being subordinated to the interests of the common good as set forth by the ECA.

Among the economic problems to be faced by this administration are questions of priorities in recovery aid—questions as to which country should be assisted first and when expenditures in one part of an economy should be tapered off and redirected toward another section. Already the Western European nations have disagreed over the policy of promoting luxury goods industries for overseas markets before domestic power and engineering plants were expanded.

Difficulties may also arise over the problem of rising price levels. In this case, European governments must attempt to curb the inflationary effect of their dollar expenditures at home by a reduction in other types of governmental spending and borrowings; otherwise, high prices may soon make economic cooperation impossible. Even now the unstable currencies of Western Europe constitute a major difficulty to be overcome and one that has required the ECA to construct a clearing-union plan for the furtherance of intra-European trade.

Then, too, powerful industrial groups may seek once more to dominate international markets by restrictive cartel agreements. These agreements may be renewed, and perhaps be reinforced by dollar grants, unless otherwise controlled through the policies of an International Trade Organization (ITO) or by direct action such as that taken by the United States and British Military governments in Western Germany toward the liquidation of the I. G. Farben cartel. Political pressure groups may

also prevent proper international collaboration through disputes over the control of certain key areas, like the Ruhr, for example, or by an insistence that the program serve some special interest—as that of the various agricultural groups in the United States. Finally, since the recovery program itself is a vast and unique



experiment in international economic relations, it will be subject to sharp and often unwarranted criticism. The givers along with the receivers of foreign aid will no doubt fail to see the program for what it is—"an act without peer in history" (*Economist*, 4/10/48).

Nor will the moral problems involved in economic cooperation prove less difficult in a world which is only slowly regaining its lost heritage—a Christian social conscience. Although the plight of the destitute peoples after the war was generally appreciated by all the so-called Christian countries, many Christians themselves did not realize that these peoples had a claim in justice as well as in charity to the surplus goods of the world. They were unaware, it seemed, of their moral obligations regarding foreign relief, or of what Pope Pius XII, in his April, 1946 broadcast on the world food crisis, described as "... the grave responsibility before God of all those who by their foresight and diligence and wise arrangements in the production, transport and distribution of food have it in their power to alleviate the misfortunes of the many."

In spite of the indifference on the part of certain groups, relief to Western Europe is now being supplied through a one-way flow of goods—a flow which, according to the present Pope, has been prompted by motives of Christian charity and a more or less disinterested benevolence. Later, when these goods begin to move in many directions, these motives will be considerably changed. Nations will then tend to ignore the moral

aspects of trade, in an attempt to restore either the amoral mechanism of nineteenth-century free trade or a bilateral system based on economic expediency alone.

Yet to ignore the moral principles basic to international trade would be to threaten the very existence of the agencies created for the promotion of world prosperity and economic peace. ECA, the Bretton Woods institutions, the ITO, for example, must of necessity be concerned with moral problems. Each is obliged to uphold an agreed code of ethics in changing economic conditions. And each must insist from time to time that nations recognize their rights and obligations as creditor and debtor countries in a complex trading world.

Thus, rich creditor countries should be reminded that they can no longer accumulate idle funds from a favorable balance of trade. On the contrary, they should either allow their debtors to repay them in goods and services or invest their trade surplus in productive foreign enterprises. To this latter case may be applied Pope Pius XI's teaching, in *Quadragesimo Anno*, that the investment of superfluous income to provide favorable opportunities for employment is an outstanding example of the virtue of munificence and one particularly suited to the needs of our times. Such investments, of course, will not exemplify any virtue unless they are also free from exploitation or illicit speculation.

Similarly, the travel expenditures made by citizens of a creditor country will not prove wholly beneficial if they incite great envy or distrust among poverty-stricken peoples. Here the moral effects of spending money abroad may nullify the economic gains, and the warnings of the recent Popes against an insolent display of luxury and extravagance might well be heeded. Indeed, the European Recovery Program as such, Anne O'Hare McCormick declared in the *New York Times*, May 27 last, has imposed a code of moral behavior on the world. The State Department has called attention to this code in a booklet issued to the bearers of passports. "Tourists who assume an air of arrogance or who transcend the common bounds of decency or humane conduct," it concludes, "can do more in an hour to break down elements of friendly approach between peoples than the Government can do in the course of a year in trying to stimulate friendly relations."

Then, again, debtor countries must also be warned by the ECA and other international agencies of their obligations to invest foreign loans in productive enterprises so as to help themselves in the process of economic growth. This development may at times be best effected through cooperative action within a trading region, and at other times technical aid from outside areas will be needed. Whichever course is pursued, the same protection and fair treatment should be extended to foreign capital as is given to domestic investors.

Too often in the past few decades have these obligations of debtors been overlooked by creditor countries and international agencies alike. For a debtor nation, once in possession of a loan, can dictate to some extent the terms of its repayment. If these terms are unfair, then such countries cannot expect to obtain further assis-

tance. Assistance should likewise be denied when the wealthy citizens of debtor countries fail to cooperate in the urgent task of developing or reconstructing their national economies. In fact, as Pope Pius XI said to delegates to the Congress on International Trade Policy, in May, 1948: "National economy, the economy of a people incorporated in the unity of a state, is itself a natural unity demanding as harmonious development as possible of all means of production within the whole territory inhabited by a people."

This wise and equitable economic balance must be preserved not merely between the agricultural and industrial parts of each national economy but also between the various countries in a trading region. All should enjoy a proportionate share of the world market, so as to share the fruits of the earth without endangering the dignity of human workers or immoderately exploiting natural resources.

When the European Recovery Program has once begun to operate according to sound Christian and economic principles, it should not be subject to the vagaries of an American Congress or the manipulations of any foreign group. It should rather be above such conflicts and superior to that spirit of cold egoism which prevents genuine international collaboration. For the dependence of man upon man in modern economic and social life demands fraternal charity, sound liberty, a faith in Christ and a love of His commandments. So also does true world peace.

Clerics and Commissars

Edward Duff

Clifford P. Moorehouse, the urbane Editor of the Episcopal review, the *Living Church*, had two weeks off in August between the close of the Lambeth Conference and the convening of the first Assembly of the World Council of Churches. The Report of the Committee on "The Christian Doctrine of Man" of the Anglican conference had termed communism "a heresy of Christianity," a resolution conceded that one could be a Marxist Communist and a practical Christian, a possibility certainly verified—so the Archbishop of Canterbury declared—in the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. At Amsterdam Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr was similarly to identify communism as "a Christian heresy." Mr. Moorehouse decided to inspect the "heretics" of Central Europe.

It was amply confusing, assuredly. In Budapest there was a dinner party which offered the opportunity of a three-hour conversation with Matyra Rakosi, Deputy Prime Minister of Hungary and one of the five leaders of the Cominform. Did Mr. Rakosi think it possible for Church and State to live in amity and work together in a communist country? Mr. Moorehouse had received widely varying answers from many people he had met but from Mr. Rakosi he got the assurance that there was

no difficulty, if the Church confined itself to religious activities and did not engage in politics. Witness the agreement worked out with the Hungarian Reformed Church after the sudden resignation "for reasons of ill-health" of Bishop Laszlo Ravasz. Bishop Albert Bereczky, a quiet, attractive man with graying hair and mustache, outlining the terms of the agreement arrived at with the Minister of Cults that won his schools exemption from nationalization, explained: "The issue is not one of religion but of power politics." Had he no fear of atheistic communism? "I have Communists in my presbytery," the Bishop declared. "Why should I fear them? It is my belief that Christians and Churches who are afraid are neither true Christians nor true Churches."

For the Lutherans Rakosi had little respect, Mr. Moorehouse reports. The Minister of Information, Ernest Mihalyfi, demonstrated a degree of disrespect that might interest the *Living Church*. Permission to attend the World Council of Churches Assembly was refused Lutheran delegates, a revamping of the Synod was demanded, the lay president, Baron Albert Radvansky, and Bishop Louis Ordass of the Hungarian Lutheran Church have been arrested. The bishop is accused of bringing back from a visit to America last year an "anti-democratic political viewpoint" and a gift of money he did not report to the Government.

It was for Cardinal Mindszenty, Primate of Hungary, that Rakosi reserved his greatest scorn, we are told. Mr. Moorehouse called on the prelate who had been marched off to a nazi prison dressed in episcopal robes and attended by his clergy, whom he blessed with his manacled hands. The Editor found the Cardinal "a hard man to evaluate, not because of his complexity, but because of his simple directness." The directness took the form 1) of a message to Americans to remember the pledges of the Atlantic Charter; 2) an on-the-spot example of government interference; 3) ample evidence of summary arrests, suppression of church papers; and 4) an adamant assertion of family rights in education.

Mr. Moorehouse left Hungary with the conclusion: "In the religious sphere, it is the Vatican and the Roman Catholic hierarchy throughout the world—not least of all Cardinal Spellman—who are the power behind Cardinal Mindszenty." Satisfied, he moved on.

In Prague Dr. Josef Hromadka, Dean of the John Hus Theological Faculty of Charles University and member of the Central Action Committee during the February communist coup, had left for the World Council Assembly. At Amsterdam Dr. Hromadka proposed that the West acknowledge defeat and become "co-builders with the new barbarians who are coming of age and aspiring to a place in the sun through the communist movement." Archbishop Joseph Beran, who spent most of the war in Dachau, could explain to *Living Church* readers why he had not been enticed by the appeal of a "Christian heresy." On April 21 he sent a circular letter to his priests, commenting on the invitation they had received to join the Communist Party: "It is not possible to reconcile Christianity and communism. Those who attempt to do so know nothing of history."

Two weeks does not allow for much traveling. No chance, therefore, to stop in at Sophia, where in July the National Council of the Fatherland Front banned religious organizations for children. No time to inspect the "Christian heretics" in Bucharest, whose Government had decreed the reorganization of all churches, their licensing by the state, with any communication with an outside "mother Church" to be cleared through the Ministry of Cults. Confiscation of religious property in Rumania extended to YMCA centers.

Back at Amsterdam the *Living Church* might have sought judgment on the "Christian heresy" from Karl Barth, the dominant influence at the Assembly. But Barth's complete contempt for the temporal order, his despair of human effort, his total eschatologism would have offered no help. To the dismay of his old opponent, last year's Gifford Lecturer, Emil Brunner, Barth had advised the Hungarian Protestants to cooperate passively with the communist-dominated regime. Challenged by Brunner, Barth had replied that the Church has nothing to do with isms and systems but only with the Word of God in historical situations. The present historical situation, he holds, as reported in the August 4 *Christian Century*, does not furnish the spiritual danger or the need demanding the Church to decry communism as totalitarian. Not an abstract allegiance to principles but attachment to the Lord is the Christian mandate in the Barthian view of religious responsibility.

At any rate, Dr. Hromadka was able to declare in an interview in Prague on his return from the Assembly that the World Council of Churches "is not going to be used as a weapon against communist-dominated countries." No Inquisition will pursue the "heretics"; no religious body will apparently even disavow them.

The World Council Assembly was indeed forthright in its listing of the failures of Western civilization, the class and race consciousness, the political neutrality of much that passes for Christianity. "There was a great difference," writes Professor John C. Bennett in the current *Christianity and Crisis*, "between the attitude of Amsterdam toward communism and that of the Roman Church." It is to be hoped that the searching honesty of the report on "The Church and the Disorder of Society" will not lead so thoughtful an observer to forget that, whatever its mythical equalitarian attractiveness, communism is a monstrous historical reality, a malevolent anti-religious movement engaged in the forcible conversion of the world. The radical deficiencies of our civilization, its spiritual superficiality and moral hypocrisy are themes AMERICA will continue to underscore. Let this much space, however, be spent to allow any cleric, curious about the content of the "Christian heresy," to take down the dictation of the arch-Commissar, Lenin: "If a priest cares to cooperate with us in our work—if he conscientiously performs party work and does not oppose the party program—we can accept him; for the contradictions between the spirit and principles of our program and the religious convictions of the priest could, in these circumstances, be regarded as a matter in which he contradicts himself, as one which concerns him alone."

Literature & Art

What do our textbooks teach?

Frederick G. J. Stein

While John Q. jostles his neighbor for new cars, and the corner salesman hustles bigger television sets, a new shortage is becoming apparent in the nation's neighborhoods. The cry is for new textbooks and more of them. And the cries are growing into shouts.

Dr. Benjamin Fine, Education Editor of the *New York Times*, in a recently completed survey of the nation's educational front, pointed out the obsolescence of a great many texts used in schools today. In some cases, the copyright date was as far back as 1889. The *Brooklyn Eagle*, doing some scouting on its own, found numerous instances of outdated texts in New York City schools. According to one history book, Harding is President and population figures for the country hover around the 100,000,000 mark: thirty years, four Presidents and 43,000,000 people behind the times.

Why the big need of textbooks now? American Textbook Publishers Institute, spokesman for the trade, points out a few of the factors. Depression years forced school boards, as it did most people, to crimp budgets. While we were slowly pulling ourselves out of the slump, the war hit us. Where it had been budgets before, it was now a severe paper shortage.

Meanwhile, and ever since the wartime rise in the birth rate, school officials have been anxiously eyeing calendars, waiting for the day when a new onrush of pupils would begin. The rush has already started. In the 1944-45 school year, there were some 25,000,000 school children in elementary and secondary schools. For the 1947-48 year, it is estimated that there are close to 28,000,000 young Americans doing their three R's. And this fall has seen more. And as the classrooms crowd up, educators and the trade know that the budget seams will have to break and, inflated dollar or no, millions of textbooks will have to be ordered.

But who will write the new textbooks? What kind should they be? Then Education Commissioner John W. Studebaker, speaking at the National Council for the Social Studies in St. Louis last November, projected an outline. Said he:

We need materials which are much more concrete and specific, detailed and up-to-date, less abstract, less generalized and less antiquated. Perhaps this goal can be achieved in large part by producing supplementary materials in pamphlet or magazine form. We need materials geared to the abilities of all pupils who will attend our high schools. . . . We need

materials which are sharply focused on the important concepts to be developed and which do more than merely provide encyclopedic and necessarily superficial knowledge of a subject field.

His advice to the teaching profession holds equally well for textbooks: "A true appreciation on the part of American youth for their glorious American heritage of freedom . . . contrasts very concretely the philosophy and practices of democracy with those of dictatorship . . . [presents] an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values, as well as the material benefits, of the American Way of Life . . . inspires them with the resolve and with the zeal to do their full part in helping to improve the working of democracy.

The advice is sound not only in the field of history, but of the increased number of social studies in the modern elementary and secondary school curriculum: government, civics, sociology, social hygiene, psychology, economics. It is valid for our books which interpret literature, for the material that goes into a book on speech, science, mathematics or foreign language.

A Columbia University economist, the scholarly Professor John Maurice Clark has pointed out in his *Alternative to Serfdom*:

We have been living in a world of conflict between false absolutes—the absolute community or the absolute state, and the absolute individual. Our liberal civilization has been built on the myth of the absolute individual, whom the state and the community exist to serve. Over against this theory, and taking advantage of its excesses and shortcomings, has arisen the doctrine of the totalitarian state, under which the individual exists to serve the community, of which the state is the embodiment; and the state's power embraces everything in life. In practice this means power that is not only unlimited but irresponsible.

The course must be between Scylla and Charybdis. Textbooks must be truthful and they must grapple with reality, though the tussle in the sixth grade will be different from that in the eleventh. They must be based on the principles upon which this country was founded—Christianity with its insistence on the rights of man derived directly from his Creator.

In textbooks on specific subjects, we come up against much the same general problems, but we also come up against those problems that are peculiar to the subject. Take for instance, Walter C. Langer's *Psychology and Human Living*, published under the aegis of the Progressive Education Association's Commission on Human Relations and written for the younger set.

To say, therefore, that a form of behavior is "wrong" or was motivated by the "bad" side is equivalent to saying that it was contrary to the accepted patterns of our culture which we knew to begin with. We might just as well say that the behavior was "un-social" and let it go at that (p. 23). . . . The "will"

seems to be just as mythical and elusive as the "spirits" of primitive times (p.24).

"Primitive times" are identified with "Early Christianity." Note the way Mr. Langer handles such words as "bad," "wrong," "unsocial" and "will."

Another high-school textbook, which attempts to shore up the social structure with a purified naturalism, falls into such a view as this: "As a more humane method of handling the higher grade feeble-minded individuals, many states now use sterilization," instead of confining them to institutions. (*Your Marriage and Family Living*, by Paul H. Landis, p. 187.)

Yet, it is this same notion—that man is to be considered solely in relation to the state as the ultimate good—that enabled the Nazis, by their own ruthless logic, to pursue their hideous experiments on millions of persons whom they deemed detrimental to the state.

Listen to Kimball Young, a leading sociologist, whose books are used in innumerable schools: "The purposes of an individual are not the result of some divine power or the supernatural product of a soul or an instinct, but are distinctly the outgrowth of one's environment which determines one's life organization in this or that particular direction." (*Social Psychology, An Analysis of Social Behavior*, p. 137).

Donald R. Taft, professor of Sociology in the University of Illinois, whose textbook on criminology is used in some of the largest colleges in this country states that "the chief value of criminology to the student . . . is a tendency toward a naturalistic or deterministic philosophy of life" (p. 14).

A key figure in Columbia University's Department of Anthropology, the late Dr. Ruth Benedict, held that "we are handicapped in dealing with ethical problems so long as we hold to an absolute definition of morality." (*Patterns of Culture*, p. 251. Pocket Book edition.)

All this is not the sort of thing that spells progress, but the sort of thing that strangles us. If free will is so much nonsense, if our purpose is all wrapped up in our environment, which is the only thing that determines "one's life organization in this or that particular direction," then, in the determinists' bible, the UN or the Marshall plan becomes a tower of Babel.

What this boils down to is that the pupil is expected to view his society as the norm of morals and conduct. He is expected to live in it, not to change it. These psychological Calvinists preach a predestinarianism as dark as any that ever was preached in Geneva. Labor leaders, Christians, Socialists and Communists are lumped together as dangerous reformers, because they are dangerous lunatics, if conformity with the established order is the criterion of sanity.

And we are left to cry in the manner of Dr. Benedict: "We'll never get this auto to run as long as the mechanic keeps insisting that it's wrecked."

The illustrious Dr. Watson (not of Sherlock Holmes fame) tells us that as a psychologist he does not know what goals a given civilization should aim at. He denies the validity of goals, as being outside the ken of science—the only norm he recognizes. But then the good doctor is

displeased because mothers are reluctant to hand over their kids for a special conditioning program guaranteed to turn them into anything the mothers want. But why the displeasure? If the mother brings her child up to be a guzzler of bad gin at the age of thirteen and a neurotic second-story man at fifteen, who is to say that this career is "worse" than working twenty years as a bank teller who would never get as much recognition, however fleeting, as the youthful crook? Certainly not Watson.

Does Commissioner Studebaker's plea to give pupils a "vision of the possibilities of a future world of freedom, justice, peace and plenty," to tell them of their "heritage of freedom," have any meaning in the light of determinism and behaviorism? Vision and freedom suppose free will and purpose, and therefore are nonsense.

How can students attain to "an understanding and appreciation of the ethical and spiritual values . . . of the American way of life," while our textbooks vehemently repudiate any such idea, except, perhaps, as a symbol of less use than a thermometer reading?



What is surely needed is not government interference and supervision of textbook writing, but a growing awareness on the part of Christian educators, scholars and private citizens of their duty, at this crucial time, to

uphold the standards of their children's enforced "best sellers."

Educators and scholars with sound Christian principles are needed now more than ever to incorporate their rich and valued learning into a medium that will reach millions of tomorrow's adults. Private citizens must bring their weight to bear on the educational bodies that are closely woven into the governmental framework, such as their own local boards of education. They must get over their lethargy and keep a sharp vigil, which is the eternal price of freedom, either as members of these bodies or as participants in their meetings.

These are the bodies that are usually responsible for local education, for selection of teachers and choice of textbooks—two of the most important functions in the education of our youth. And yet in city after city, town after town, most board of education meetings are attended mostly by its members and the local newspaper reporters (and they often "sit in" via a telephone after the meeting is over). And there are times when members excuse themselves because there is nothing important being considered—just a new series of textbooks.

Though, in the public schools, Christian principles cannot be taught as a matter of religion, this is not an impossible hurdle. As a recent circular issued to all teachers in New York City's Grover Cleveland High School pointed out,

In the public schools we are deprived of the instrumentality of formal religion. We must therefore rely on literature, English and foreign languages to develop the moral instincts. This means that constructive and not destructive literature must be the core

of the English curriculum. If our efforts are to be centered on the debunkers, the result is nihilism and the production of cynics. If there is no morality, there can be no law other than that imposed by force.

In addition, we must rely on mathematics, science and social sciences to develop the concept that this is a universe grounded on law; that the violations carry consequences quite apart from human imposition. Only as we train individuals to live in a universe of order, do we get individuals who are themselves orderly. (*Guidance Circular 7L, "Education Today"*)

Working toward this end on top levels we have such groups as the U.S. Office of Education's Citizens Federal Committee on Education, of which Msgr. Frederick G. Hochwalt of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, is a member. Yet what is needed sorely is an awakening of thousands of Americans who will wade into their own local waters and make themselves guardians of their children's education.

And we need such people. For as Justin Miller, president of the National Association of Broadcasters, stated not so long ago: "Even those great bulwarks, the ten Amendments to the Constitution known as the Bill of Rights, may become valueless if we fail to keep an alert watch on them. The avowed and secret enemies of these basic freedoms choose their opportunities carefully, times of public indifference and apathy. It is then, when public vigilance nods, that encroachments are made, abridge-

ments accomplished, hidden and innocent-seeming breaches cut into the walls."

The textbooks in our schools, private and public, are the earliest contact our children have with the principles of our free society. For many impressionable years they are the chief, perhaps the only contact. It is our responsibility to our children to see to it that their textbooks are not made the entering wedge that may split the foundation stones of American democracy.

Conversation

If I turn to the lady on my left, and say,
"The religious culture, although superior to the economic,
Is so intermingled with it,
That if we remove the economy, the religion falls,"
She will ask bright questions.
But if I say, "The moment I die
I expect to be catapulted
Into the presence of God,
And I hope to hear the word
'Always'
Uttered as human never spoke it,"
She will have a sudden headache,
And ask to be excused.

I am left with the live coal of knowledge.

WILLIAM F. WALSH

Books

Twentieth-century Augustine

THE SEVEN STOREY MOUNTAIN

By Thomas Merton. Harcourt, Brace. 429p. \$3

Thomas Merton, after living in ten years what most men live in thirty, entered the Trappist Monastery at Gethsemani, Kentucky, when he was twenty-six years old. This former modern of moderns, bored, ego-centered, sensual, has been a monk for seven years, getting closer and closer to God.

Raised by a Quaker mother and a sort of Anglican father, both of whom died when he was very young, the author, after an erratic education in France and England, wound up, of all places, at Columbia University, fully convinced that the joys of sex and alcohol and fame were the major concerns of living.

Autobiographies of converts are becoming more and more frequent, but I know of none that reveals the abysmal vulgarity of our secular world as this does, and that, at the same time, makes real for the reader, Catholic and non-Catholic, the truths of the Church. God's grace is almost tangible for Mer-

ton and he manages to make it so for the reader.

It is undoubtedly one of the most significant accounts of conversion from the modern temper to God that our time has seen. Msgr. Fulton J. Sheen calls it a "twentieth-century form of the *Confessions of St. Augustine*." Clare Boothe Luce says men will turn to it a hundred years from now "to find out what went on in the hearts of men in this cruel century." This is no ordinary autobiography. "Who touches this book touches a man."

Parenthetically, it is remarkable that two of Merton's friends and fellow-students, one of them a Jew, were baptized, too. The aware young men of his generation are apparently discovering earlier than their predecessors the futility of living without the faith. A powerful force is the grace which converts men on Broadway and 116th Street, probably the most secular campus in the world, where the atmosphere is charged with the heavy dullness of John Dewey's naturalism, where young Marxists gather to protest this or that, where a step away is St. Paul's Chapel, usually empty of students and always empty of the Sacrament.

When a man writes like Frater M. Louis, as Merton is now named, the reviewer wants just to quote, and there are scores of quotable passages. The book is, in one aspect, a crushing ar-

raignment of our modern civilization.

"There was no room for any God in that empty temple full of dust and rubbish [his own soul] which I was now so jealously to guard against all intruders, in order to devote it to the worship of my own stupid will.

"And so I became the complete twentieth-century man. . . . I became a true citizen of my own disgusting century: the century of poison gas and atomic bombs. A man living on the doorsill of the Apocalypse, a man with veins full of poison, living in death."

And when he had worked with Catherine de Hueck in Harlem: "The brothels of Harlem, and all its prostitution, and its dope-rings, and all the rest are the mirror of the polite divorces and the manifold cultured adulteries of Park Avenue: they are God's commentary on the whole of our society. . . . Harlem is, in a sense, what God thinks of Hollywood."

Perhaps the sentence which the worldly-wise intellectuals of 1948 ought most to ponder is a simple statement that comes near the end of his story when Merton had entered the monastery, this time, to stay.

"So Brother Matthew locked the gate behind me and I was enclosed in the four walls of my new freedom."

Young Thomas Merton craved fame as a writer. Now Brother M. Louis worries lest his writing, ordered by his

Abbot, may not stand in the way of the true humility he seeks to achieve.

This reviewer is as chary as any of overestimating a book's worth. Mediocre stuff that no one would read more than once has too often been hailed as a masterpiece. It is hard to believe, however, that *The Seven Storey Mountain* is not destined to endure—certain sections in it, anyhow. Whether it does or not, it is a profoundly moving, spiritual document. It ought to be read. Catholics should read it and then buy copies for hesitating, prospective converts. It is worthy of a place very near *The Confessions* on the shelf and in a man's heart. HUBERT N. HART

Not a vintage year

THE OLD BEAUTY AND OTHERS

By Willa Cather. Knopf. 166p. \$2.50

The posthumous publication of three short stories by an author who holds an assured position among American novelists merits attention, but this volume is not of first importance. The familiar and exemplary style comes through, and there are flashes of insight, of tenderness and dignity, but the sketches are low in vitality. Only in "The Best Years," which forms the solid middle of the book, does the writing establish a firm contact with reality, and it is here that Miss Cather deals with the people she knew by heart, those who live close to the land.

"The Old Beauty" telescopes the life of a society belle of the pre-world-war era in the memories of a younger admirer. It is a portrait of an impersonal beauty who realizes only after time has passed her by that the men who paid her respectful court were the great figures of the period. In her old age she reverences the past and resents the present. It is, after all, a minor tragedy, and only the author's skillful choice of revelatory incident and her restraint preserve it from becoming a sentimental pastiche. The characters in "The Best Years" are less remote from common experience. A young county superintendent of schools in Nebraska, befriending one of her junior teachers, opens a door on the Fergusson family to reveal a visionary farmer surrounded by an efficient wife and sturdy, loving children. Lesley, still in her early teens, teaches to ease the household budget. In time, the Fergussons rise to modest wealth; but the early death of Lesley has made all the difference between these late easy years and the best years when the family was poor, hard-working and untouched by grief. There is simplicity and the warmth of truth here, in both character and situation. It is the nearest approach to Miss Cather's strength in the earlier short stories contained in *Obscure Destinies*.

The brief closing story, "Before Breakfast," is a clever statement of an old problem. Grenfell is suffering the occupational disease of self-made men: his family has grown up cultured and a bit cold toward him. To make matters worse, an acquaintance lays the dead hand of science on his vacation, transforming Grenfell's island retreat into a geological specimen with a few well-chosen observations on the age of the earth. Human values reassert themselves, however, by an inconsequential act of will as the geologist's daughter goes swimming in water much too cold for that purpose.

Miss Cather's wide public, which has come to expect artistry and integrity as a matter of course, will not be disappointed in this last book even though it may recognize its secondary position among her works.

THOMAS J. FITZMORRIS

Clues to Russian enigma

PROFILE OF EUROPE

By Sam Welles. Harper. 386p. \$3.50

The United States and Soviet Russia are today two magnetic forces which tend to draw the whole globe toward their respective poles. While neither is, strictly speaking, a European power, the centers of their gravitational pull lie in Europe, where the last two world wars began.

Whether capitalist America and communist Russia will succeed in finding a common basis for peaceful continuation of reasonable cooperation is the greatest puzzle of today's troubled world. There are many sincere and genuine peace-seekers who endeavor to find a workable solution of the problem. To the great number of reports, analyses and books written on this subject, certainly belongs this volume, *Profile of Europe*, by Sam Welles.

The author is an associate editor of *Time* and an able analyst of foreign news. His well-written and remarkable book is a rather ambitious and gigantic undertaking, aimed at giving a correct as possible answer to the pertinent question of the hour: will there or will there not be a war with Russia? Based on Mr. Welles' findings while on a

short trip to Soviet Russia and Western Europe (from March through October, 1947), the book attempts to describe what possible policy is to be followed if the danger of war with Russia is to be averted—and the author asserts that it can.

In a reportorial but lucid manner Mr. Welles proceeds to prove his point. Controversial as the matter is, the author holds that the United States and the rest of the world can have a lasting, peaceful relationship with Russia if they are prepared to be patient, firm and consistent.

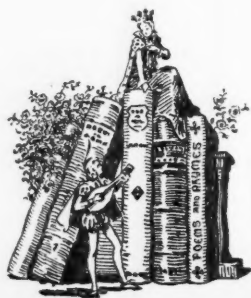
Although Mr. Welles devoted his book to Europe in general, he nevertheless concentrated his arguments on Russia, for obvious reasons. His visit to Moscow coincided with the conference of Foreign Ministers in March, 1947. (All his moves in Stalin's capital, quite understandably, were tightly guarded and supervised by visible and invisible chaperons.) From Moscow the author went through the satellite states and also made a tour of the Marshall Plan countries.

Preoccupied with the problem of war-or-peace with the Soviet Union, Mr. Welles expressed his views in the following conclusions:

1. Soviet Russia will not be ready for a major war with the West until 1960 or 1965, and then only if America does not pursue a firm, consistent and intelligent policy before that time;
2. Few men in Russia, including the members of the Politburo, want war with the United States;
3. Stalin's realization of his country's weakness is a strong deterrent from starting an aggressive war;
4. Central and Western Europe can and will recover in a ten-year period;
5. The countries of the Soviet sphere can also be rehabilitated, but if they are deprived of American aid, the process may take considerably longer;
6. The satellite Communists are not in full accord with the Soviet system of government;
7. The Soviet system has completely failed to provide a better life for its citizens.

Undoubtedly Mr. Welles had finished his book before the Berlin crisis developed, for we are sure that otherwise his belief in Russian aversion to war would not have been so marked, to say the least. The likelihood of war or peace is an important policy factor in any country. We have yet to see a statesman, a responsible leader of any nation, clamor openly for war. On the contrary, all repudiate wars. Even the Nazis, not so long ago, while preparing for aggressive war, always and on all occasions reiterated their "desire" for peace. The Bolsheviks, at least in this respect, are no exception.

Even if we grant the validity of Mr.



Welles' argument that Russia today is so poor and weak that any major war is unthinkable, the Russians themselves may not reason along the same lines. The author himself reports that the Kremlin trains Russians to hate non-communist nations, especially the United States. A Soviet school text, for instance, declares:

The pupils of the Soviet school must realize that the feeling of Soviet patriotism is saturated with irreconcilable hatred toward the enemies of Soviet society. . . . It is necessary to learn not only to hate the enemy, but also to struggle with him, in time to unmask him, and finally, if he does not surrender, to destroy him. . . . To vanquish the enemy is impossible without the most burning hatred for him.

There is truth, furthermore, in the author's assertion that the Russians are handicapped by so many difficulties that the common people have only one main worry: how to keep going from day to day. Neither the gigantic industrialization nor collectivization of agriculture has improved the lot of the people. In addition, the startling inefficiency—tremendous waste of manpower and material resources, multiplied by Russian backwardness—would seem to make Soviet Russia absolutely incapable of waging war with such a highly industrialized nation as this country. But this, of course, may not be taken into consideration by those of the Politburo men who believe that Soviet Russia is at least equal, if not superior, in strength, to the United States. Despite the excellent intelligence sources Stalin is supposed to have, he, too, may misunderstand the reasons for U.S. cautiousness and thus plunge the world into a new war.

And then, there is the Russian elite, some four to five million mad dreamers, imbued with thirst for power and loot. Only a few weeks ago a book appeared in Moscow about the Soviet war economy. Its author is Nikolai A. Voznesensky, Deputy Premier and member of the Politburo. In blunt language, void of any diplomatic verbiage, he writes that war between the United States and the USSR is inevitable, unless the United States capitulates to Soviet power. This, of course may not be the view of the Russian masses, for whom Mr. Welles has a warm feeling, but this is the official line.

Profile of Europe, nevertheless, is a timely book; it is a comprehensive and factual study of Russian power as seen by the author during his brief sojourn in the Soviet state. At the same time, it serves as a warning to our policy-makers that this country can no longer afford a policy of inconsistency and blunders in regard to Soviet Russia.

WALTER DUSHNYCK

THE ROOSEVELT MYTH

By John T. Flynn. Devin-Adair. 438p. \$3.50

To those familiar with John T. Flynn's earlier work, the general strains of *The Roosevelt Myth* will be familiar. Feeling that the heroic stature which the late President has assumed in the popular mind is out of all proportion to his merits, the author presents this study in the interests of truth—in an effort to view Roosevelt objectively, as history will see him. From newspapers, public records, personal observations, reminiscences of the President's associates, he has drawn his facts, and upon them he has constructed a wholly sinister evaluation—the reviewer does not recall the mention of a single redeeming quality—of the man and his administration.

Flynn's charges are directed at virtually every aspect of Roosevelt's personality and of his long career: his personal vanity, his want of plan or principle, his unreliability, his low standard of political ethics, his irresponsible dealings with the Left and with the lunatic fringe. But dominating all else, perhaps, is the author's attack upon the economic record of the New Deal and upon the wartime statesmanship of its leader. As to economics, he asserts that the banking crisis of 1933 was deliberately aggravated by Roosevelt for political purposes and was resolved only by the efforts of Hoover's retiring aides; the NRA and the AAA, the very heart of the President's "new order" were both utter failures; the economic improvement of the years 1933-37 were due exclusively to the pump-priming tactic of extravagant government spending, while no attempt was made to fix the pump; hence in 1937-38 the situation was worse than ever, and only the prospect of war, with its infinite opportunities for spending, saved Roosevelt. And as to diplomacy, the President's decision (against the judgment of all his military advisers) not to invade France in 1943 gave the Russians a precious year to achieve unhindered their own objectives; his naive endeavor to sell Stalin his "great design" for world peace (the United Nations) led him to the irreparable surrender of Poland, the Baltic States, the Balkans, Manchuria, and even of the United Nations itself.

In criticism of Mr. Flynn's work, it might be pointed out that on some questions of fact he seems not to cite any source for his allegations (this is not to deny their truth); his interpretations of Roosevelt's motives are not always convincing; and the very vigor of his style tends to color events and obscure their significance—his attack upon the academic economists being a case in point. Flynn's narrative is lively and fascinating; but it may be asked

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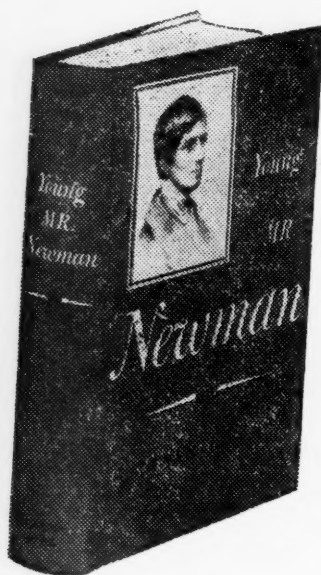
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whether he, any more than Roosevelt's admirers, can achieve real perspective while standing so close to the subject of his portrait. Has he not, in focusing his attention on errors and defects, closed his eyes and the eyes of his readers to the happier features of the regime? Was every Roosevelt appointee a crackpot? Is the TVA a failure? Would our housing have been better off without HOLC? Although the reviewer deplores the widespread adulation of the late President and is convinced with Mr. Flynn that his historical greatness is much exaggerated, he can hardly regard so black a delineation as accurate. If rebuttal and counter-rebuttal follow, the picture of the man may emerge in its true lines and proportions. JOSEPH C. MCKENNA

BEHIND THAT WALL

By E. Allison Peers. Morehouse, Gorham. 181p. \$

The subtitle, "An Introduction to Some Classics of the Interior Life," indicates the nature of this work. It is a book about certain saints and spiritual writers, who lived close to God and experienced intimate union with Him, and then wrote an account of their experiences for the guidance of others. Because most readers would be deterred from exploring such accounts on their own initiative, Mr. Peers, who has already stirred up great interest in the Spanish mystics by his lively and sympathetic treatment of their writings, here brings the reader to the door that leads behind the wall and points out through the opening the beauties of the interior garden of divine love.

He makes a selection of outstanding Christian mystics, briefly sketches their lives for us, and makes us acquainted with the book that best reveals their interior life. He offers a thumb-nail sketch of its contents and quotes an occasional passage that exhibits its rare beauty. The reader is then urged to investigate the writings himself and find out what others have to say about being in love with God. In these works we see how souls are brought to God, drawn and not driven, drawn through their affections with the silken cords of love, drawn by the spell of the King's beauty, whom they behold not face to face, but as we do, mirrored in His creatures. We see those whose eyes are fixed in rapture on Someone we cannot see, and whose faces are lit with a joy we cannot understand; yet we fain would know that secret, and are drawn to wonder, to seek and knock till the door behind that wall be opened to us.

Thus it is that God draws souls to Himself, one through another. Thus it is that we are each to draw souls to Him in the wake of our own. And He

rules as King in the soul when all her affections are so given to Him that she loves Him, not only above all things, in such sort that she would leave all else for Him, but alone, loving nothing else but in relation to Him.

Modern man, sped on his way by ambition, pleasure and craze for novelty, is apt to overlook the spiritual life and act as though it did not exist. He forgets that the soul is his dearest possession and should claim his first interest. He also forgets his relationship to God, his Creator and Lord, and values less divine love and close union with God than he does the material things around him. Despite this fact, his mind is constantly seeking for truth, and God alone is Truth; his will craves for good, and God is the Good; his heart longs for love, God is Love; his eye searches for beauty, God is Beauty; his soul reaches out towards eternity, life and salvation, God Himself is Eternity, Life and Salvation. All this man will find in the life behind that wall.

It is what we think about and what we love that matters most, and that makes us what we really are. It is the secret life of our soul which is our highest and noblest life. And when God is the constant object of our thought and love, then and only then have we penetrated behind that wall and brought rest to our soul. The men and women, who have lived with God and who want to teach us how to live with God are worthy of closer acquaintance. May this little book lead many to a better knowledge and a keener appreciation of God and of the life with Him behind the wall.

HENRY WILLMERING

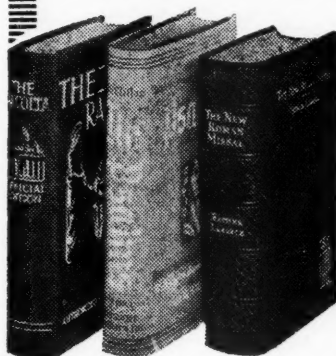
THE LABOR LEADER

By Eli Ginzberg. Macmillan. 187p. \$3

Parkinstown may be a small town in Pennsylvania but it looms large in the experience of Eli Ginzberg. The author devotes almost one-half of his 187 pages to the story of the birth, growth and prosperity of Local 1, Pottery and Porcelain Workers of America—CIO. This reviewer does not often read eighty pages of any book without pause, but the story of these pottery workers was that interesting.

What occurred in Parkinstown during the dismal days of the 1930's was, of course, not unusual. The workers' need for labor organization, yet their apathy; the zeal of labor organizers, yet their failures; the good will of an employer, yet his subservience to a bank, are all retold here. This is a good case-history of trade unionism. After reading it one can only admit the failure of organized labor to dramatize its story. If every union had published a

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case-history such as this (and most have a better) the opposition to trade unions would not be half so intense.

It is too bad that the author could not have let the book stop with this chapter on Parkinstown. The rest is poorly done. Perhaps the publisher felt the need of drawing theoretical conclusions about labor leadership in general. Whatever the reason, Mr. Ginzberg embarks on the difficult task of telling us what the average labor leader looks like, how much time he has spent in school, how old he is, etc.

The composite picture of American labor leadership is poorly drawn for two reasons. The ten unions selected for study are old unions. Only one CIO union is discussed, and that one too has its roots in the dim past. None of the later mass-production unions are considered at all. How, then, can an author attempt to characterize the leaders of American labor when he must bypass such men as Reuther, McDonald, Carey, Quill, Curran and Bridges? A second defect was beyond the author's control. The book was intended for publication before the war. The whole development of labor leadership since 1940 is not considered.

There is much in this book to recommend its purchase. You will not find anything useful on labor leadership, but in the story of Parkinstown a great deal on how labor leaders fight their industrial battles. **GEORGE A. KELLEY**

The Word

A SECRETARY USHERED US INTO an imposing office. "Kids," I said, "here is Caesar."

The Mayor, a friend since my days as a City Hall reporter, came forward to greet us. He beamed at Betty and Joe, shook hands, and told us to be seated. He returned to his big swivel chair, leaned back and raised inquiring eyebrows at me. "Caesar?" he repeated. "Am I as bad as all that?"

I explained. "I'm using the word to mean the government. We've been talking about the Gospel for the 22nd Sunday after Pentecost—Matthew 22: 15-21."

The Mayor nodded. "I see. That's the one about giving to Caesar the things that are Caesar's, and to God the things that are God's."

Betty and Joe nodded eagerly, and Joe said, "He knows, Dad."

The Mayor chuckled. "If I didn't know that one, son, I wouldn't be a very good mayor. What has your Daddy told you about it?"

Betty spoke up. "He says the Pharisees were trying to trap Our Lord.

The Pharisees were important people in the Temple. They got King Herod's men to go with them to ask Jesus whether it was all right to pay taxes to the Emperor Caesar. If Our Lord said yes, the Jews would hate Him, because Caesar had conquered them and was making them pay taxes. If He said no, King Herod's men would tell Caesar about it."

Joe wriggled forward in his chair. "But they didn't fool Jesus!" he said. "He called them—" Joe stopped.

"Hypocrites," said the Mayor.

"That's it," said Joe.

"They were hypocrites," said the Mayor, "because they didn't really want to know. They only wanted to get Christ into trouble. And you know, there are people nowadays who ask Presidents and Governors and Mayors questions like that. We call them fakers. What else did your Dad tell you?"

Betty spoke slowly. "He said people need two kinds of help. They need help to go to heaven. That's the Church's main job. And they need help on earth. That's the government's main job. God wants the Church and the government to help each other to help the people, but He doesn't want the Church running the government or the government running the Church."

"Very good," said the Mayor. He turned to Joe. "Did Betty forget anything?"

Joe wrinkled his forehead. "Yes. We're supposed to give money to the Church and the government so they can help us."

The Mayor smiled. "Everybody helps everybody, eh? That's the way Christ wants it."

The children nodded.

"Mayor," I said, "would you mind if I took the youngsters around City Hall and showed them what we buy with our taxes?"

The Mayor stood up. "I'll show you myself," he said.

It was a wonderful afternoon for Betty and Joe. They met the Fire Chief, who told them how his firemen save homes and lives. The Police Chief showed how he could flip a switch and talk to policemen all over the city, sending them to arrest burglars or to take people who were hurt to a hospital. The Director of Public Works explained how his men took care of bridges, streets, street lights, traffic lights and other things needed by the people. The Health Director told about his doctors and nurses, going everywhere to keep people well. The City Solicitor—in this case a woman lawyer—explained how she went to court whenever she thought somebody was cheating the citizens, and made them stop it. The City Treasurer and the City Comptroller showed how they kept

strict records of the money paid in taxes, and where it was spent. The Property Director explained how he tested everything the city bought, and made the sellers give sealed bids, so there would be no dishonesty, and the taxes would be wisely spent.

Afterwards, we went into the City Council chamber and heard the Councilmen, who were elected by the people, talking about which would be the best laws for everybody.

When we came out, the Mayor said to the children: "Maybe you're wondering what we do for the Church, and what the Church does for us. The Church teaches people to be good and kind, obedient and helpful. But it would be pretty hard for people to be good if the city was running wild with bad men, if everybody did as he pleased, if there were no street lights, if we didn't have laws and policemen to keep order."

He put his hand on Joe's shoulder. "Joe, what would happen if you tried to have a baseball game without an umpire?"

Joe grinned. "We *did* try," he said. "We got into a fight between the two teams."

"Part of the government's job is to serve as umpire to see that the game is played fair. And the Church is like a coach, teaching people how to play the game of life right, so they'll get safely home to heaven."

Betty put her hand in the Mayor's. "You're a nice Caesar," she said, "the kind that God wants."

The Mayor looked at me. "That," he said, "makes all my work worth while."

JOSEPH A. BREIG

also becomes, in the opinion of one of his teachers, a stinker.

The father also becomes a stinker, in a respectable way, rising from successful business man to tycoon, from tycoon to peerage; but while his properties increase his moral capital declines. "What does it profit a man," one asks while departing from The Martin Beck, "to conquer the worlds of finance and fashion and lose his own soul and his son's?" Arnold Holt's only reward for idolizing his son and making him a spendthrift, seducer and cad was the memory of a boy who died defending his country.

Produced by Gilbert Miller and Henry Sherek, and directed by Peter Ashmore, with sets and lights supervised—it says in the playbill, supervised, not designed—by Raymond Sovey, the Robert Morley-Noel Langley collaboration looks like the season's first dramatic hit. Mr. Morley, as the indulgent father, is magnificent in the role, while Peggy Ashcroft, the mother who takes to alcohol as her son goes to ruin, is fine in a part that demands both the vivacity of a young wife and the cynicism of a disillusioned woman prematurely aged by tragedy and drink. In her final scene she leaves the



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Theatre

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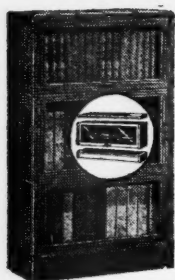
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stage in the most impressive exit I can remember. Ian Hunter, Torin Thatcher and Leueen MacGrath shine in supporting roles, and the less conspicuous members of the cast achieve a high level of competence. These English actors know how to make their characters live.

While the brilliant acting of Morley & Co. was awarded the virtually unanimous praise of the major first-nighters, the dramatic writing of Morley & Langley was, I think, generally underrated. The top critics have labeled the production an "actors' play," which it is, in the sense that *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Importance of Being Earnest* are actors' plays. *Edward, My Son* is also intelligent literary drama. It is skillfully written and has a modicum of moral substance. Arnold Holt first appears as a hopeful young father, proud of the son the Lord has given him, and is last seen as a rich and frustrated old man muttering his disapproval of Britain's Labor Government. The futility of his career, because he built his hopes on sand instead of rock, suggests a phrase in the Scriptures—"Vanity of vanities, all is vanity."

THEOPHILUS LEWIS

Films

JOHNNY BELINDA. Despite some melodramatics which will not bear too close scrutiny, this is in many ways a distinguished adult movie. There is a flavor of the better foreign films in the verisimilitude with which it reproduces its Nova Scotia fishing village setting. And in portraying the freeing of a deaf-mute girl from the shackles of ignorance and neglect it does a very effective job with a moving and unusual theme. Not a little of its merit is due to Jane Wyman's eloquent performance as the scorned, unkempt farm girl who blossoms into a lovely young woman when the new doctor (Lew Ayres) teaches her lip-reading, sign language and the meaning of being a human person. The melodrama sets in when she is assaulted by the village bully (Steve McNally) and has a child. Though this brutality is shocking, there is nothing lurid in its handling, and the girl's tenderness and wisdom in caring for her baby are most expressive of the picture's theme. However, due to some highly complicated and far-fetched circumstances, the violence spreads to include two murders and an extremely emotional courtroom scene in which everybody is out of order, and these the plot could well have done without. Charles Bickford and Agnes Moorehead are outstanding in a sup-

porting cast which looks properly toil-worn and rustic. (Warner Brothers)

JULIA MISBEHAVES. Some of the comic highlights of Margery Sharpe's politely improper but amusing *The Nutmeg Tree* have been retained in the screen version, embellished to dubious effect with a heavy coating of slapstick. The rest of the story has been drastically but far from artfully altered to fit the peculiar requirements of a Greer Garson-Walter Pidgeon vehicle. What results from the novelist and the scenarist pulling in opposite directions is a movie with a few loud laughs, the requisite number of love scenes—amid swanky surroundings or in the somehow romantic discomfort of a sinking rowboat or a mudpuddle built for two—and not the slightest trace of consistent characterization. The plot gets under way when an impecunious and vaguely theatrical Londoner decides to attend the Riviera wedding of the daughter she relinquished as a baby to her aristocratic in-laws. As the lady in question Miss Garson is sometimes Miss Sharpe's Julia, with a suspicious aptitude for fleecing gullible males, a yen for the bright lights and a very imperfect concept of truth; more often she behaves as the script writer envisaged her and as the public likes to see her—noble, misunderstood and self-sacrificing. Pidgeon has an even worse time as her blue-blooded ex-husband because he was dead in the book and the explanation of the estrangement which his resurrection necessitates (that he tired of his wife after a year and told her to leave) makes him one of the heels of all time—though no one in the picture seems to think so. Other members of the cast—Elizabeth Taylor, Peter Lawford, Cesar Romero and Lucile Watson, struggle with similar inconsistencies. Incidentally the changes have made the story no more moral; only trashier. (MGM)

ISN'T IT ROMANTIC? Since the producer of this small what-is-it felt impelled to use a title in the form of a rhetorical question, I would suggest that "ridiculous" or "calamitous" would be far more appropriate. It would almost seem as though a group of Paramount's otherwise disengaged contract players (Veronica Lake, Mona Freeman, Billy De Wolfe, Roland Culver among them) were given a camera and some sets and costumes suggesting a small town in the mauve decade, and told to improvise enough in the way of story, songs and comedy to cover the allotted amount of film. The ceaseless vigil for a plot which never materialized exhausted me; a family audience forewarned simply to relax may be only mildly bored. (Paramount)

MOIRA WALSH

Parade

BOTH ROUTINE AND NON-ROUTINE behavior patterns emerged during the week. . . . Rare sights were seen. . . . In Milwaukee, an absent-minded church usher passed out collection envelopes containing money contributed in a previous collection. . . . Unusual stuffing was detected. . . . When a four-year-old Cincinnati girl lay down on her new mattress, she screamed and screamed. Her mother found the mattress stuffed with bottle tops, nails, match boxes, wires, nuts and bolts. The manufacturers placed the blame on disgruntled employees. Citizens felt that Ohio's bedding inspection law needed stiffening. . . . Incongruities erupted. . . . In Atlantic City, at a convention of the Registers of Wills Association, more than half the Registers present admitted they had not made their own wills. . . . People threw money away. . . . An Indiana railroad telegrapher tossed a package containing his day's receipts—\$117.45—into a passing train, which happened to be a circus train. One of the circus elephants ate the day's receipts. . . .

Chain explosions of tempers shook the social milieu. . . . London authorities, alarmed at the widespread damage caused by the slamming down of telephone receivers, launched a "Don't Lose Your Temper" poster campaign. . . . Anti-collision movements got under way. . . . Authorities in a Michigan city, dreaming of a twenty-four-hour period devoid of smash-ups and traffic tickets, decreed a special Safety Day. Throughout the Safety Day, the din of crashing fenders was louder, the number of tickets greater than on the same date in 1947, a non-Safety Day. . . . Meanness broke out. . . . After a Chicago woman gave a begging vagrant money for carfare, he stole her purse, ran off. The woman had to borrow fifteen cents for her own carfare. . . . Joy filtered into lives. . . . A Kansas farmer, on the very same day, won a new automobile and became the father of twins. . . . In a Massachusetts town, pupils leaped with delight upon learning that all the teachers in the grammar school were sick in bed with colds and that the truant officer was likewise bedded with a cold. . . .

Optimistic viewpoints were released. . . . In Kentucky, a tobacco salesman, who gauges the economic condition of the nation by the length of tossed-away cigarette butts, issued the following statement: "The average cigarette butt today is about one-and-one-half inches long. That's every bit as long

as the butts in the boom days of the 20's. Prosperity is here." Measuring material prosperity alone does not afford any idea of the real well-being of a nation. . . . Progress in the material sphere unless accompanied by progress in the spiritual sooner or later lands a nation on history's scrap pile. . . . In estimating the spiritual health of a nation, criteria other than cigarette butts must be employed.

. . . Such criteria are available. . . . Since Jesus Christ is God, all who do not know this truth are either the blind leading the blind or blind followers of blind leaders. . . . The way, then, to discover the spiritual condition of a nation is to ascertain the number of its citizens who recognize Jesus Christ as God, and who govern their lives in accordance with His undiluted teaching.

JOHN A. TOOMEY

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Correspondence

Czech student need

EDITOR: In reviewing the situation in Czechoslovakia during the Communist coup in February, AMERICA emphasized the role of Czech students in the resistance against communism. In a later editorial (AM. 3/13) the editor of AMERICA expressed sympathy with thousands of Czech students who staged a mass demonstration against the Communists on February 24, were shot at by the police and brutally dispersed.

Probably some of the readers wondered what happened to the anti-Communist Czech students after the putsch. The reports on their fate are sad: one student was killed during the demonstration, one died from wounds caused by the beating by the police, hundreds were imprisoned and brutally beaten during the investigations. All those who were known as participants at the demonstration and those who were active leaders in democratic student clubs were expelled from all universities of Czechoslovakia and, as "unemployed," assigned to the work in the mines or factories with the threatening possibilities of further investigations and imprisonments. This punishment fell heavily on all Catholic student groups. Almost all Catholic youth leaders were expelled from all schools. A great number of these young Catholics chose to leave the country. They crossed the mountains, risking their life, since all the boundaries are heavily guarded, and reached the American Zone in Bavaria and Austria.

In their hazardous escape the fugitives could take only what they had on them. They are now in the D.P. camps and have no means of buying new shoes or clothing. The food in the camps is insufficient. Those fugitives who were not accepted in the over-crowded D.P. camps or who left them, find it impossible to earn their living. A number of Czech students from the camps in Austria received scholarships at the University of Innsbruck but they have no money to buy food and clothing. A well organized relief committee led by the Catholic student, Karel Kasperek, takes care of a hundred Czech students but it lacks funds and depends entirely on the local charities. Five Czech students joined the French Foreign Legion last week because they could not bear any longer the constant hunger. Several times Czech students fainted from hunger in the streets.

Despite these gloomy facts Czech students seem to be full of zeal, energy and optimism; they are trying hard to

organize self-supporting committees and study groups; they help each other in a spirit of true comradeship. Their firm belief in the ultimate victory of democracy over communism is unshaken.

Perhaps some Catholic student readers of AMERICA could send some help and words of encouragement to their Czech colleagues in D.P. camps.

New York, N. Y. E. M. VOYTA

Compliments

EDITOR: I wish you would convey my compliments to the writer of the editorial on "Productivity and prices" in the Sept. 11 issue of AMERICA. It was the best summary of the material that I have come upon and I am particularly grateful for the care with which the writer noted the qualifications as well as the statements. I think the material in the other five articles supports the conclusions your associate drew from the first two. WILL LISSNER

The New York Times
New York, N. Y.

Reviewer reviewed

EDITOR: In the review of my book, *Farming and Democracy* (AM. 9/18), the reviewer states that the "only purpose" of the book is "a smearing of family-enterprise farming, with the hopes of shaping public opinion toward the permitting of legislation which will legalize and safeguard the concentration of land ownership in the hands of a few."

The opening paragraph of my book reads as follows:

This is a book about an idea—that farming as a family enterprise is the "backbone of democracy." The book discusses the origin of the idea, its historic influence on public policy in Great Britain, France and the United States, and its possible significance for the future of both American agriculture and American democracy.

This is the book's essential purpose. If it has any other or more timely and practical significance, it is to inquire into the economic and political conditions in which both family farming and democracy might flourish in the United States, and to arouse public opinion to the forces at present militating against them. Its explicitly stated conclusion is that we may yet save both by an intelligent allocation of productive resources within agriculture, and between agriculture and industry, and by a sincere effort to curb monopoly and main-

tain economic as well as political democracy.

(PROF.) A. WHITNEY GRISWOLD
New Haven, Conn.

Gatherings

From the Editor's mail . . .

► "If the writer of the editorial 'Double Talk in Birmingham' (AM. 7/31), knows anything about the South from 1861 to 1876," JOHN C. REAGAN of Tucson, Arizona, insists, "he ought to know that States Rights is not a mask for hypocrisy, nor the activities of the 'Dixiecrats' a matter of 'white supremacy.'" Senator John H. Reagan, of Texas, opposing the "Force Bill" in the Congress of 1891 briefed the case against the current "Civil Liberties" measures, we are told.

► Who taught that the end justifies the means? PIERRE CONWAY, O.P., of Providence, Rhode Island, reminds us that Martin Luther, writing to Johannes Lang on August 18, 1520, declared: "We showed forth here the Papacy to be the seat of that true and germane Antichrist, against whose deceitfulness and wickedness we consider all to be permitted for the salvation of souls." Luther was explaining his work *An den christlichen Adel*; the quotation is found in Grisar's *Luther*, II, p. 449 (Freiburg, 1911) . . .

► Bernard McCabe's "Catholic Teachers in Public Schools" (AM. 8/7) "struck some shrewd blows at the formula concept of Catholicism," THEODORE C. P. VERMILYE believes. "The simple truth is that we have passively assisted in the begetting and the nurturing of the Marxist monster; we have refused to let the business of being Catholic interfere with business." MORTON HILL, S.J., of Woodstock College, on the other hand, most sharply disagrees with Mr. McCabe's thesis expressing his amazement "to find Catholic teachers condemned in toto." The blame for not offering a strong barrier to the tide of secularism falls "on priests, nuns and laity who are not picking out our talented and generous boys and girls for public education. We are not giving them sound arguments to embrace this supernatural mission."

► Returned from a trip to Germany, PROF. WALDEMAR GURIAN, of Notre Dame, Ind., reports the plight of Catholic professors, artists, writers and clergymen there. Books and periodicals are badly needed, only a single copy of Toynbee's *Study of History* being available in the University of Bonn. Priests would like to obtain such periodicals as *Theological Studies*, AMERICA, *Commonweal*, *Dublin Review*. Dr. Gurian will supply names.

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